

A GENERATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN PREFIXAL VARIANTS  
IN CONTEMPORARY STANDARD RUSSIAN

by

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ABSTRACT

A GENERATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN PREFIXAL VARIANTS  
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One of many language phenomena in Contemporary Standard Russian is the fact that besides the so-called regular prefixes, which in the process of Russian word-formation are the most common ones, there are also various prefixal variant forms used in particular phonological environments, in which the former do not occur. Alongside the regular prefixes, one of the largest groups of these variant forms is, for instance, the group with variants VO- and SO- (alternating with V- and S-, respectively), and other analogous forms with their distinct final vowel segment.

An examination of such corresponding pairs of variant forms as S- and SO- leads to the conclusion that in the course of the historical development of the Russian language system, certain archiprefixes, or primary prefixes, underwent different phonological changes as the result of specific governing principles. The distribution of the prefixal

related forms, like S- and SO-, provides evidence that in some early phonological environments certain primary prefixes developed into structurally more stable positional variants, their final segment being realized as the vowel segment o.

The object of this study is:

a) firstly, to identify the main categories of the Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) prefixal variants with the final vowel segment o, and those particular root morpheme segments which provide the environment essential for the resulting forms of the derivations of these prefixes;

b) secondly, to determine from the data collected whether the initial root morpheme segments, with regard to their synchronic characteristics, are in any way instrumental in the realization of prefixal variants with the final o segment;

c) thirdly, to systematize the significant data of prefixal and root morphemes into appropriate groups exhibiting common features; and,

d) finally, by first positing the underlying representations of the prefixal variants with the final o segment and their correlating root morphemes, to generate the typical group examples by means of the relevant phonological rules and to derive their near-to-surface phonetic forms representing the broad phonetic features, as they occur at the stage at which some of the very latest phonological rules have not yet applied.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT . . . . .	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS . . . . .	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	xii
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
1.0 Purpose of Study . . . . .	1
1.1 Definition of Prefixes . . . . .	3
1.2 Function of Prefixes . . . . .	4
1.3 Development of Prefixes . . . . .	5
1.4 Structure of Prefixes . . . . .	8
1.5 The Problem and Its Proposed Solution . . . . .	9
1.6 Stress, Meaning and Style . . . . .	12
1.7 Sources of Study . . . . .	13
1.8 Notation . . . . .	16
1.9 Key to Contemporary Russian Alphabet Order and Transliteration of Cyrillic Letters . . . . .	18
1.10 Representation of Underlying Phonological Segments in Russian . . . . .	18
1.11 Inventory of Russian Underlying Phonological Segments . . . . .	20
NOTES TO CHAPTER I . . . . .	21

CHAPTER	PAGE
II. PRESENT STRUCTURE AND CLASSIFICATION OF PREFIXES	
IN THE GRAMMAR — STATIC CHARACTERISTICS . . .	25
2.0 Introduction . . . . .	25
2.1 O-Variants and Their Productive Root	
Morphemes . . . . .	25
2.2 List of Surface and Deep Forms of	
Representative Root Morphemes Taking	
O-Variant Prefixes . . . . .	28
2.3 Mutual Combination Patterns of Russian	
Prefixal Morphemes . . . . .	41
2.4 Distribution Pattern of Two or More	
Prefixal Morphemes . . . . .	42
2.5 Summary of Distribution Patterns of	
O-Variant Prefixal Morphemes Occurring	
with Other Prefixes . . . . .	47
2.6 Phonological Processes of Lowering and	
Dropping in Prefixal Distribution	
Pattern . . . . .	49
2.7 Phonological Processes of Lowering and	
Dropping in Prefixal Morphemes . . . . .	50
2.8 Distribution of Prefixal O-Variants in	
Formation of Different Parts of Speech .	53
2.9 Prefixal O-Variants in Relation to	
Current Stylistic Usage . . . . .	56

CHAPTER	PAGE
2.10 Prefixal O-Variants and Aspect of Verbs .	57
2.11 Prefixal O-Variants and Phonological Assimilation . . . . .	58
2.12 Prefixal O-Variants and Initial Root Morpheme Surface Segments . . . . .	59
2.13 Inventory of Initial Root Morpheme Orthographic Segments . . . . .	61
2.14 Ratio of Initial Root Morpheme Segments Participating in Formation of Prefixal O-Variant Morphemes . . . . .	62
2.15 Classification of Syllabic Versus Non-Syllabic Initial Consonant Clusters of Root Morphemes . . . . .	62
2.16 Concluding Remarks . . . . .	64
NOTES TO CHAPTER II . . . . .	66
III. PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS AND DERIVATIVE PROCESSES — DYNAMIC CHARACTERISTICS . . . . .	71
3.0 Introduction . . . . .	71
3.1 The First Environment of the Lower Rule .	76
3.1.1 Summary of Prefixal Variants . . . . .	105
3.1.2 Perfective Verbs in the First Environment Taking Prefixal O-Variant Morpheme in Conjugation . . . . .	108

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

3.1.3	Summary of Prefixal O-Variants in Conjugated Perfective Verbs . . . . .	111
3.1.4	Double Prefixes Words of the First Environment . . . . .	111
3.1.5	Summary of Double Prefixes Words in the First Environment . . . . .	115
3.1.6	Concluding Remarks . . . . .	115
3.2	The Second Environment of the Lower Rule . . . . .	117
3.2.1	The First Group . . . . .	118
3.2.2	Summary of the First Group . . . . .	126
3.2.3	Minor Exceptions to the First Group . . .	126
3.2.4	Summary of the Exceptions to the First Group . . . . .	128
3.2.5	The Second Group . . . . .	128
3.2.6	Summary of the Second Group . . . . .	132
3.2.7	The Third Group . . . . .	132
3.2.8	Summary of the Third Group . . . . .	134
3.2.9	Concluding Remarks . . . . .	134
	NOTES TO CHAPTER III . . . . .	136
IV.	NONPHONOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED O-VARIANTS . . . . .	139
4.0	Introduction . . . . .	139
4.1	Initial CL Sequence in Root Morphemes . .	141
4.2	Summary of Prefixal Variants . . . . .	159

CHAPTER	PAGE
4.3 Concluding Remarks . . . . .	161
4.4 Post-Prefixal UR's with an Initial O-Segment . . . . .	162
4.5 Summary of Prefixal Variants . . . . .	171
4.6 Concluding Remarks . . . . .	172
4.7 Other Examples Lacking Phonological Motivation . . . . .	173
4.8 Summary . . . . .	190
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV . . . . .	193
V. CONCLUSION . . . . .	194
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	200
APPENDIX I: STRESSED PREFIXAL O-VARIANTS . . . . .	204
APPENDIX II: PHONOLOGICAL RULES . . . . .	209
SUMMARY OF RULES . . . . .	217

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

adj.	— adjective
adv.	— adverb
(BdC)	— Baudouin de Courtenay (rule)
bot. term.	— botanical terminology
C	— any consonant
C <sup>i</sup>	— identical consonant
C <sub>1</sub>	— one or more consonants
chem. term.	— chemical terminology
coll.	— colloquial
CS	— Church Slavic
CSR	— Contemporary Standard Russian
DI	— derived imperfective
dial.	— dialectal
f.	— feminine gender
G	— glide
gram. term.	— grammatical terminology
impf.	— imperfective verb
inf.	— infinitive
IR	— intermediate representation
L	— any liquid
ling. term.	— linguistic terminology
m.	— masculine gender
math. term.	— mathematical terminology

obs.	— obsolete form
OCS	— Old Church Slavonic
OR	— Old Russian
p.	— person
p.p.a.	— present participle active
p.p.p.	— present participle passive
pf.	— perfective verb
RDD	— Russian Derivational Dictionary
sg.	— singular
SRJ	— Slovar' russkogo jazyka
SSRLJ	— Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka
theol. term.	— theological terminology
UR	— underlying representation
V	— any vowel
$\bar{v}$	— long vowel
$\check{v}$	— short vowel
$\ddot{v}$	— front vowel
$\bar{\ddot{v}}$	— long front vowel
$\check{\ddot{v}}$	— short front vowel
vulg.	— vulgar
[-R]	— non-Russian form
[+R]	— Russian form
[-S]	— non-Slavic form
[+S]	— Slavic form (as opposed to Russian form [+R])

- + — morpheme boundary marker; also indicates forms  
belonging to [+R] or [+S], and the presence of  
phonological features
- — as a minus sign, indicates: a) forms not belonging to  
the original stock of Russian or Slavic morphemes,  
b) absence of phonological features, and c) that no  
change has taken place;  
— as a hyphen, signals the position of a separately  
listed transliterated morpheme or incomplete word
- = — indicates the identity of two forms compared
- [ ] — brackets enclose phonetic transcription; also enclose  
a marker which indicates Russian, non-Russian,  
Slavic, and non-Slavic forms.
- # — word boundary marker; also the boundary marker of UR's  
of morphemes and segments
- < — derived from
- \* — indicates ungrammatical, non-attested, hypothetical or  
reconstructed form
- ' — indicates palatalization of the preceding consonant in  
a transcribed form and stands for a soft sign in a  
transliterated form
- " — stands for a hard sign in a transliterated form
- — develops into
- ∅ — indicates a dropped segment



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Purpose of Study

The Russian grammatical system is well known for the coexistence of two prefixal forms: a shorter form without an additional vocalic segment, and a longer form, with an additional vowel segment o appended to the final consonant of the prefixal morpheme.<sup>1</sup> The existence of these longer<sup>2</sup> forms, or prefixal o-variants,<sup>3</sup> in the Russian language system has usually received either sporadic or one-sided treatment by a limited number of authors.<sup>4</sup> In the linguistic literature at large, the presence of different prefixal morpheme variants, V- and VO-, S- and SO-, and so on, has been traditionally attributed to one of the following causes:

a) the dropping of the back jer in the prefix, yielding the regular variant;<sup>5</sup>

b) the lowering of the final strong jer u in the prefixal morpheme and the subsequent dropping of the weak jers i and u in the initial syllable of the root morpheme;<sup>6</sup>

c) the parallel existence of two identical consonants at the morpheme boundary, the final one of the prefixal morpheme and the initial one of the root morpheme, which necessitated the lowering of the prefixal jer u for the sake

of easier pronunciation;<sup>7</sup>

d) the words with the prefixal o-variants being of Old Church Slavonic (OCS) origin which, via Church Slavic (CS), made their way into the Russian vocabulary.<sup>8</sup>

In recent years a number of authors, among them Morris Halle, Theodore M. Lightner, and Herbert S. Coats being the most prolific contributors, have proposed a generative approach to account for the existence of the prefixal o-variants in Russian. Although in their works the subject of prefixal o-variant morphemes has been treated in passing and with the use of limited linguistic data, they have proposed the fundamental phonological rules for the derivation of these prefixes.<sup>9</sup>

Following the general theoretical framework presented in the works of the above authors, this study essentially represents a preliminary attempt to analyze all available linguistic data of the prefixal and root morphemes involved in the formation of the prefixal o-variants, and also to propose a descriptive environmental classification of the existent, phonologically-divergent prefixal morphemes in the Russian language system.

This study does not pretend either to probe all aspects of the Russian prefixes or to present a comprehensive phonological analysis. It is simply an initial investigation intended to examine and systematize those relations

and factors which exist between the initial component parts of a given word and which are instrumental in the realization of the prefixal o-variant morphemes. Therefore, the basic objective of the study is to separate and define those groups of o-variant morphemes and those root morphemes which, taken together, undergo similar phonological processes.

Even though the subject matter of the present work has been limited to the o-variant morphemes, the whole prefixal system of the Russian language will be elaborated on, within the adopted framework in those cases which are considered to be pertinent to the prefixal morphemes under investigation, either as a set of pre-derivative elements or as specific prefixal morphemes.

### 1.1 Definition of Prefixes

The definition of the term "prefix" in the Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) linguistic literature is still to be more accurately formulated because it is self-evident that some linguistic units which, classified by different authors under the term "prefix", have nothing in common. Thus some units in numerous Russian compound words, such as POLU-<sup>10</sup> in POLUSÓN "half asleep", are called prefixes solely because of their corresponding prefixal functions.

In the present study a dividing line will be drawn between these prefix-like linguistic units, sometimes called "semi-prefixes" or "prefixoids",<sup>11</sup> and those auxiliary

linguistic units, or true prefixes which, having lost their independent character, cannot stand by themselves and always need a following word to which they are attached.

The final vocalic segment o, which in the formation of prefixal o-variants is said to be "appended" to the prefixal morpheme, namely, between two morphemes in word-formation, in linguistic literature has several designations, such as "connecting vowel", "inserted vowel", "mobile vowel", "fleeting vowel", "alternating vowel", and so on. In Russian linguistic terminology the expression used is beglyj glasnyj. Since the above terms are generally used when referring to other similar cases of word-formation in bringing together two linguistic elements, and considering that the vocalic segment in question has a specific role in the present description, the more appropriate term "prefixal o-segment" or, for the sake of brevity, "o-segment", will be used in this study. Likewise, the prefixal morpheme with the final o-segment attached to it will be termed the "prefixal o-variant morpheme" or, in short, "prefixal o-variant".

## 1.2 Function of Prefixes

The primary function of Russian prefixes is generally to create words with new meaning. This is particularly the case, both in the CSR and in the Old Russian (OR) grammatical system, in the formation of verbs where Russian prefixes are highly productive. The secondary, aspectual function of the

prefixes is, with some exceptions, to change the verb from imperfective to perfective.<sup>12</sup> Thus prefixes either slightly modify or completely change the meaning of the words being prefixed, or have an additional function (in Russian as in other Slavic languages) of expressing the perfective aspect of the verb.

Prefixes, as far as the Russian language is concerned, do not alter the grammatical category of the prefixed words; each word remains in that part of speech to which it belonged before the prefix was attached to it.

In general, prefixation is also grammatically neutral in contrast to suffixation. While the former merely serves as a modifier of the root morpheme, the latter is instrumental in the realization of some definite grammatical category of a word. The process of suffixation is usually associated with the set of grammatical endings of a part of speech, while the process of prefixation appears to be completely neutral in this respect.

### 1.3 Development of Prefixes

The fundamental phonetic changes of the Russian prefixal morphemes under investigation in the present work have developed<sup>13</sup> gradually over many centuries, as speakers and scribes (the latter usually responsible for idiosyncratic prefixal forms) abandoned one grammatical structure in preference for another.

The duality of co-occurring prefixal forms has been explained historically by the fact that at one time all OR prefixal morphemes, which developed into the o-variant morphemes treated in this study, ended with the reduced high lax vowel u called a "back jer" (in contrast to the reduced high lax vowel i called a "front jer"). Thus for example, the prefixes V- and VO-, IZ- and IZO-, POD- and PODO-, OT- and OTO-, S- and SO-, show an identity in underlying representation (UR) #vu#, #izu#, #podu#, #otu#, and #su#, in that they have the back jer u as their final segment. In the later stages of development of the Russian grammatical system and in different environments, this vowel either dropped out, in which case the most prevalent "short" or "basic" form of the prefixal morpheme resulted, otherwise known as the regular prefix, or the vowel segment u was lowered to o, and the morpheme was realized in its longer, o-variant form, usually termed the irregular prefix.

In the majority of cases the polarization of the primary prefixal morphemes (#vu#, #izu#, #su#, and so on) into two basic positional classes, with relation to the particular environment, has been essentially systematic. Thus, for example, the o-variant prefix developed in most of those cases where a jer had dropped from the root morpheme (VOBRÁT', SOBRÁT', from #wu + bir + ...#, #su + bir + ...#; VOVNÉ from #wu + wun + ...#, and so on), while the regular

prefix developed in those cases where the root morpheme retained a vowel other than jer (SDĀT' from #su + dō + ...#). In these and similar cases the derived prefixal variant forms can be substantiated by the historical evidence. However, there are some o-variant forms which are considered to have been developed by analogy with other o-variants (for example, the prefixal o-variant OBO- is often cited as one which developed by analogy,<sup>14</sup> that is, there is no historical evidence for its UR #obu# form). Since such an analogical approach has little to contribute within the framework of the present analysis, these products of "analogy" have been treated and developed here as the rest of the o-variant forms, namely, with the lax, high, back segment u posited in their underlying representations.

Many phonological variants in the contemporary Russian language system have become accepted as permanent forms, while others still alternate, as in the case of the prefixes S- and SO- in SVERŠĀT'—SOVERŠĀT', or the prefixal variants OT- and OTO- in OTDVĪNUT'—OTODVĪNUT'. These are cases in which both prefixal variants are used with one and the same root morpheme. One of these variants (SVERŠĀT', OTDVĪNUT') has been phonologically motivated, while the other (SOVERŠĀT', OTODVĪNUT') has been determined by stylistic usage. All those prefixal variant forms which are not phonologically motivated seem to have a decreasing frequency of usage. The



point in question can be illustrated by the variants PROTIVU- and PROTIVO-. While the former was very much in usage during the nineteenth century, it is now considered obsolete.

#### 1.4 Structure of Prefixes

The prefixal morpheme as a linguistic unit has essentially three major aspects: phonological, morphological, and lexical. In the course of historical development the phonological component of the prefixal morpheme was subjected to various changes and the prefixal morpheme with the same lexical meaning developed into a number of structurally different prefixal variants. The fact that phonological re-structuring can be observed both in the OR words and in words borrowed from the stock of the OCS vocabulary provides an opportunity to analyze the prefixal morphemes even in those lexical units which, on account of their derived stems (by the addition of a prefix or suffix), would otherwise, in the present Russian vocabulary, be obscured with regard to their identification as separate morphemes.

The location of prefixes in word-formation is always pre-positional, that is, their place is at the beginning of a word. On account of their initial position they have been denoted as "pre-derivatives" or, since prefixes are most active in the formation of verbs as "pre-verbs". However, there are some exceptional cases in which Russian prefixes do not in the strict sense occur in the initial position of

a word. As it happens, there are cases of prefixal morphemes which, in the formation of compound words, have supposedly acquired an "internal" position. Such is the case of the prefixal morpheme IS- in the compound word VREMJAISČISLÉNIE, and numerous other examples of compound words in which the second element of the word happened to be already prefixed and has been attached as the second element in the process of word-compounding.

The alternation of  $\emptyset$  (zero) and the segment o is not restricted only to the prefixal morphemes or to the o segment.<sup>15</sup> It also takes place in root morphemes and suffixes where a wide variety of vocalic or consonantal segments alternate. In the case of prefixal morphemes it can also involve the surface segment u as in PROTIVU- and PROTIVO-, MEŽDU- and MEŽDO-. The alternation of segments in Russian is, therefore, a common characteristic of word morphology.<sup>16</sup>

The distribution of phonetic changes has in many cases been extended beyond the limits of those cases which are required to be phonetically specified in order to conform to the Russian language system. Thus, in a number of instances the prefixal o-variant morpheme has its explanation as being of CS origin or an analogical formation modelled after another o-variant morpheme.

### 1.5 The Problem and Its Proposed Solution

Because of phonological changes in the Russian

language, underlying representations of jers i and u are eliminated in the generative process either by tensing (DI-TENSING), dropping (C-DROP), or lowering (V-LOWER).

Jers are tensed in roots of verbs of derived imperfectives<sup>17</sup> (DI's) as, for example, in NAZYVÁT' "to name, call up" (<UR #zuv#), UBIRÁT' "to collect, harvest" (<UR #bir#), VYŽIDÁT' "to wait for" (<UR #gid#). The corresponding perfective (pf.) pairs are NAZVÁT', UBRÁT', and VÝŽDAT'.

Dropping of jers occurs in the development of regular prefixes, that is, those prefixes which have a final consonantal segment.<sup>18</sup> These prefixes always have a corresponding prefixal o-variant. The prefixal jers are generally dropped when they occur in one of the following positions:

a) before a root morpheme which has a vowel other than jer, as in SDÁT' "to deliver, give" (<UR #su + dō + ...#), PODNOSÍT' "to bring, present" (<UR #podu + nos + ...#), and so on;

b) before a root morpheme in which one of the jers has been tensed, such as PODŽIGÁT' "to set fire to, to set on fire" (<UR #podu + gig + ...#), or lowered, such as SGONJÁT' "to drive away" (<UR #su + gun + ...#).

The third case in which the underlying jers are eliminated is in the lowering of jers i and u to e and o. In o-variant prefixes, it is the back jer u which is lowered to o. In general, this jer is lowered whenever it appears as

the final segment of a prefixal morpheme occurring before a root morpheme which has a jer in its initial syllable. The examples SOBRÁT' "to gather" (<UR #su + bir + ...# → (V-LOWER), (V-DROP) → #so + br + ...#), IZOGNÚT' "to bend, curve" (<UR #izu + gun + ...# → (V-LOWER), (V-DROP) → #izo + gn + ...#), and PODOGRÉT' "to warm up" (<UR #podu + gur + ...# → (V-LOWER), (V-DROP) → #podo + gr + ...#) illustrate the lowering process.

The problem of the analysis is to find the behavioral consistency of the back jers in the above lowering pattern, and to establish any other phonological motivations for the lowering of back jers in prefixes.<sup>19</sup>

The prefixal o-variants in Russian cannot be interpreted until either the vowel in the first syllable or the initial consonant cluster of the following root morpheme has been analyzed. Thus, for the correct identification and grouping of the o-variant morphemes, the right-hand environment of each o-variant has to be scanned to determine the factor governing the particular type of the prefixal o-variant. It follows that the phonological analysis of the Russian prefixal o-variants involves a systematic examination of the environment beyond their graphic morpheme-boundaries. These prefixal variants, therefore, require the analysis of longer phonological strings.

### 1.6 Stress, Meaning and Style

In the present work the accentual properties of underlying representations in the derivation of prefixal o-variants have not been indicated, except in the orthographic representations and in the intermediate forms given. This does not imply that in the formation of prefixal o-variants stress has an insignificant role. As a suprasegmental feature, stress has a direct bearing: a) on the lowering or dropping of lax, high vowels;<sup>20</sup> b) in the formation of perfective verbs with the prefix VÝ-;<sup>21</sup> and also c) in the development of the prefixal o-variant RÓZ-.<sup>22</sup> Stress has been omitted because it is irrelevant to the discussion of prefixes as presented here.

In addition to the above-mentioned functions, stress is important in the reduction of vowels, changing the surface interpretation, that is pronunciation, of the respective vowel segment, as in SOBIRÁT'—SOGNÁT'—SÓGNUTYJ, where the prefixal vowel segment o becomes surface [ə] – [ʌ] – [ó], respectively. However, this stress factor goes beyond the fixed objectives of this work.

Besides bearing the primary stress, some prefixes in double-stressed words in Russian may also have a secondary stress. In the latter group are some native prefixes such as MÈŽ-, PÒSLE-, SVÈRX-, and also some prefixes of foreign

origin such as ÀNTI-, KÒNTR-, PRÒ- (excluding the orthographically identical prefix PRO-, which is of native origin), SÛPER-, TRÀNS-, and ÛLTRA-.

As far as the meaning of different prefixal o-variant morphemes is concerned,<sup>23</sup> sporadic citations are made only in those pertinent cases which, on account of their phonological aspect, require a definite statement.

Some of the older prefixal o-variant forms are restricted to certain styles of expression. Most of these restricted o-variant forms have been classified in relation to different styles. There are, however, some o-variants which have been assigned by different authors to quite different styles. Thus the main sources used for present stylistic classification, namely, Slovar' russkogo jazyka (SRJ) by S. I. Ožegov, Moscow, 1968, 7th ed., and Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, volumes 1-17, Akademija nauk SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950-1965, do not always agree as far as usage is concerned. However, since Ožegov's Slovar' is more up-to-date, it has served as the decisive authority on usage. In some exceptional cases a third source, Russko-anglijskij slovar', by A. I. Smirnitsky et al., Moscow, 1961, has been consulted in those few cases which required stylistic clarification.

## 1.7 Sources of Study

The essential corpus of data of the prefixal o-variant

morphemes used in this thesis has been collected from the Russian Derivational Dictionary (RDD) (by Dean S. Worth et al., American Elsevier Publishing Co., New York, 1970), in which the prefix segmentation has been achieved by breaking down each linguistic unit into its component parts, thus separating the prefixal morpheme from the post-prefixal constituents. All the pre-root prefixal morphemes in the RDD have been examined for the prefixal o-variant morpheme constituents, and each one has been recorded in all the possible o-variant forms.

In those cases in which the root morpheme constituent has a set of prefixal o-variant morphemes, that is, where the prefixal o-variants participate in the formation of several parts of speech, the verbal form has been selected as the representative one. This has been done on the assumption that the verbs, with their aspectual opposition, would yield more information concerning the phonological structure and derivation of the two different prefixal forms. In many cases, for the sake of illustration, the substantival forms and other parts of speech have been added to the existing verbal form or, in the absence of the latter, the nominal or any other forms found have been listed as examples.

Adjectives have been recorded only in sporadic cases to illustrate further the examples in question. Nevertheless, there are many instances where only one part of speech,

for example, an adverb (VOVÉK, VOVNÉ, SOVSÉM, SÓSLEPA), has provided the only form with the particular prefixal o-variant morpheme.

In conjunction with the segmentation outlined in the RDD, there are some prefixal constituent forms of a disputable nature. For example, such is the case of some prefixes which have not been separated from the following inserted consonantal segment n, as ZAN-, NAN-, PON-, PRIN-, SN-, in PEREZANIMÁT', PODNANIMÁT', PONIMÁT', VOSPRINIMÁT', SNIMÁT', respectively.<sup>24</sup> However, such uncertainties, on account of their marginal importance and their irrelevance in the total presentation of the data, have been simply recorded as they are given in this dictionary.

The second main source of study, Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, has been instrumental in checking the existence, usage, aspect, stress, and meaning of all words with the prefixal o-variant morphemes collected from the RDD. In some cases the original data collected from the latter dictionary have been supplemented by additional forms from the SSRLJ not previously recorded. It should be pointed out that the SSRLJ served as the main source for all sorts of additional information and corrections.

Besides serving as a quick reference guide, Ožegov's SRJ, as already mentioned, has been used primarily to determine the stylistic usage of doublets and exceptional forms.



To selected examples from the body of data thus collected, the basic phonological rules have been applied as outlined in the works of Halle, Lightner, and Coats, that is, in their respective works introducing a generative approach to the Russian language system.

In view of the fact that the present analysis deals with the general behavior of the prefixal o-variants, many elaborate details of generative Russian phonology, discussed in the works of the above authors, have been excluded from the present study for the sake of brevity and because of the limited objectives of this dissertation.

#### 1.8 Notation

After the Russian Orthographic Reform of 1954, all i's following the prefixal morpheme segment ending in a consonant were, according to their pronunciation, changed in writing to y's. This change did not take place after those prefixal morphemes ending in ž or x as, for example, in the words MEŽINSTITÚTSKIJ, SVERXIZÝSKANNYJ, and after prefixal morphemes of foreign origin as in KONTRIGRÁ. In the latter instance the presence of the letter i reveals the foreign origin of the prefixal morpheme.<sup>25</sup>

E is often a written alternative to ě. Since ě has a palatal feature as the vowel letter corresponding to o, it does not have an independent status in dictionary

listings, although it is sometimes written as ě for the sole purpose of avoiding ambiguity in pronunciation.

The letter J, of the digraphs JU and JA, indicates the palatal quality of the immediately preceding consonant and jot.

Soft sign (') is an orthographic feature which serves:

firstly, as an indicator of the palatal quality of the preceding consonant;

secondly, as an indicator of the possible palatal quality of the preceding consonant and, at the same time, as a separating sign when a vowel letter e, ě, i, ju or ja follows it (in which case these vowels have the element j, as if following another vowel letter), as in P'ĚT, P'JÚŠČIJ, SUD'JÁ; and

thirdly, in some final positions (after š, ž, č, šč) and after reflexive verbs (before the particle -SJA, as in MÝT'SJA) the soft sign has lost its power to indicate the palatalized preceding consonant and acquired a grammatical interpretation.

Hard sign (") is an orthographic device used between a consonant and a vowel to indicate that they are to be pronounced separately, in which case the following vowels, as in the case of the soft sign above, are preceded by j (OT"JÉXAT', POD"JĚM, S"JÉST').

Any consonant, except the palatals, the affricate c, and of course the purely orthographic symbols " and ', has a

palatalized and a non-palatalized variant. Generally speaking, a consonant is palatalized if the following segment is e, ě, i, j, or the symbol '. The palatal consonant ž has a long palatalized variant [ž':] in geminates like VÓŽŽI, ŽUŽŽÁT', and also if ž is preceded by z, ÉZŽU, PÓŽŽE. The palatalized long [š':] is realized in words having consonant sequence šč or sč as in PLÁŠČ [plaš':], SČĚT [š':ót].

### 1.9 Key to Contemporary Russian Alphabet Order and Transliteration of Cyrillic Letters

А — A	К — K	Х — X
Б — B	Л — L	Ц — C
В — V	М — M	Ч — Č
Г — G	Н — N	Ш — Š
Д — D	О — O	Щ — ŠČ
Е — E	П — P	Ъ — "
Ё — Ě	Р — R	Ы — Y
Ж — Ž	С — S	Ь — '
З — Z	Т — T	Э — È
И — I	У — U	Ю — JU
Й — J	Ф — F	Я — JA

### 1.10 Representation of Underlying Phonological Segments in Russian

In order to establish the interrelations between deep structure and surface structure, each phonological string of

segments must be reconstructed in its underlying, abstract form. This deeper level of structure must be posited in order that one might be able to reduce the complicated variety of surface forms to more basic forms.

In accordance with the simplicity requirements of the grammar, the development of surface forms through intermediate forms must proceed along the most economical route. Besides, there must be a continuum between deep, intermediate, and surface representations. Any anomalies and irregularities of the surface forms often have their explanation at the deeper, abstract level of representation.

The following inventory of underlying (abstract) phonological segments in Russian is the one used by Coats.<sup>26</sup> In general, the same underlying segments were also used by Lightner.<sup>27</sup> The phonological features posited in the rules are those proposed by Chomsky and Halle.<sup>28</sup> The reasons for adopting the following inventory of Russian underlying phonological segments are: 1) they represent an economical abstract substructure of segments; 2) there are established phonological rules which generate from them the required surface segments; and 3) they have already been attested in linguistic literature on Russian generative phonology.

1.11 Inventory of Russian Underlying Phonological SegmentsSonorants: all specified +sonorant, +voice, -low

	<u>V o w e l s</u>								<u>G l i d e s</u>		<u>L i q u i d s</u>		<u>N a s a l s</u>	
	ī	ū	ē	ō	i	u	e	o	j	w	l	r	m	n
Syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consonantal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Anterior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Coronal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
High	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Back	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
Tense	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Continuant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

Obstruents: all specified -sonorant, -syllabic, +consonantal, -low, -tense, -lateral, -nasal

	<u>L a b i a l s</u>		<u>D e n t a l s</u>				<u>V e l a r s</u>		
	p	b	t	d	s	z	k	g	x
Anterior	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Coronal	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
High	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Continuant	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
Voice	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Delayed release	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
Strident	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>The coexistence of two prefixal forms is usually described as vowel-zero alternation. For works treating this subject at large see, among others: I. I. Bukatevič et al, Očerki po sravnitel'noj grammatike vostočnoslavjanskix jazykov (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1969), pp. 53-56; L. L. Bulanin, Fonetika sovremennogo russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Visšaja škola, 1970), pp. 128-148; L. A. Bulaxovskij, Istoričeskij kommentarij k russkomu literaturnomu jazyku (Kiev: Radjans'ka škola, 1958), pp. 107-110; Harold Leonard Klagstad, Jr., Vowel-Zero Alternation in Contemporary Standard Russian, unpub. doctoral diss. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1954); Theodore M. Lightner, Problems in the Theory of Phonology, I, Russian and Turkish Phonology (Edmonton-Champaign: Linguistic Research, Inc., 1972), pp. 38-39, par. 2; D. L. Olmstead, "The So-Called Inserted Vowels in Russian," Language Learning, III (1950), pp. 93-98; Charles E. Townsend, Russian Word-Formation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), pp. 60-80.

<sup>2</sup>In linguistic literature two phonologically related prefixal variants are also known as positional variants and prefixal allomorphs. For a discussion of prefixal variants in Russian, see: Z. A. Potixa, Sovremennoe russkoe slovo-obrazovanie (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1970), pp. 54-55.

<sup>3</sup>In one of his works N. M. Šanskij calls the longer form "open" (RAZORVÁT'), and the shorter form "closed" (RAZRÝT'). N. M. Šanskij, Russian Word Formation, trans. B. S. Johnson (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>See the following works: Herbert Coats, Word Stress Assignment in a Generative Grammar of Russian, doctoral dissertation (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1970), pp. 198-200, rules no. 35 and 36; A. N. Gvozdev, Sovremennyj russkij literaturnyj jazyk, I, Fonetika i morfologija, 3rd ed. (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1967), pp. 64-65; Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of Russian (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1959), pp. 49-51, 65-66, 68-72; Lightner (1972), pp. 153-154, 239-240, 257, 371-373.

<sup>5</sup>The historical background and development of jers has been treated in most of the works dealing with the history of the Russian language. For a detailed description

see: Bukatevič (1969), pp. 15, 40, 42-44; Bulaxovskij (1958), pp. 83-93; P. Ja. Černyx, Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka, 2nd ed. (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe učebno-pedagogičeskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveščeniya RSFSR, 1954), pp. 105-111; V. V. Ivanov, Istoričeskaja fonologija russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1968), pp. 289-297. Historically, the lowering and dropping of *i* and *u* in Russian (which began ca. 1150) was one of the most important phonological changes, resulting in structural changes of words, that is, the beginning of the new closed syllables instead of open ones (#muxu# → #mox#). Some linguists hold the view that even akan'e (reduction of unstressed *o* and its consequent pronunciation similar to a) probably began as the result of changes of jers.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example: Bukatevič (1969), pp. 42-44; I. I. Bukatevič et al., Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka (Kiev: Višča škola, 1974), pp. 80-88; Bulaxovskij (1958), pp. 83-93; Černyx (1954), pp. 105-111.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Townsend (1968), p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> F. K. Gužva, Sovremennyy russkij literaturnyy jazyk (Kiev: Višča škola, 1973), p. 51; Townsend (1968), p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example: Lightner (1972), pp. 153-154, 371-373.

<sup>10</sup> Šanskij (1968), p. 123.

<sup>11</sup> For more information see: N. M. Šanskij "Affiksoidy v slovoobrazovatel'noj sisteme sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka," Issledovanija po sovremennomu russkomu jazyku (Moskva: Moskovskij universitet, 1970), pp. 257-271.

<sup>12</sup> For aspect-formative prefixes see: V. A. Trofimov, Russkij literaturnyy jazyk, Morfologija (Leningrad: Leningradskij universitet, 1957), pp. 161-164.

<sup>13</sup> Prefixes originally developed from prepositions and particles when these merged with the following word. The following quotation describes the process in general terms: "Auxiliary [sic] words, like post- and prepositions, pronouns and auxiliary verbs tend most readily to agglutinate because they usually are weakly stressed and thus tend to form a common phonetic unity with the main verb...", and "... Prepositions also tend to agglutinate with the main word and to be transformed into prefixes." Valter Tauli, Structural Tendencies of Languages, I, General Tendencies

(Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy Helsinki, 1958), pp. 87, 89.

<sup>14</sup>Potixa (1970), p. 54, footnote 2.

<sup>15</sup>The alternation is further divided into historical and phonetic alternation. The former represents changes of the past, and the latter changes due to reduction and assimilation. For the historical background of alternation see: Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut russkogo jazyka, Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Nauka, 1970), pp. 462-485; P. S. Kuznecov, Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka, Morfologija (Moskva: Moskovskij universitet, 1953), pp. 17-29.

<sup>16</sup>The contemporary state of alternation in CSR has been presented in Klagstad (1954).

<sup>17</sup>Lightner (1972), pp. 31-38, and footnote 1, Chapter II.

<sup>18</sup>In OR all prefixes were syllabic ending in back jer. Their consonantal ending is the result of dropping of the back jer u.

<sup>19</sup>There is an interesting article about the historical development of the Ukrainian morphophonemic system, relevant for prefixes and prepositions and the change of morphophonemic rules in: Henning Andersen, "A Study of Diachronic Morphophonemics: The Ukrainian Prefixes," Language, 45 (1969), no. 4, pp. 807-830.

<sup>20</sup>A. A. Dement'ev, Sbornik zadač i upražnenij po istoričeskoj grammatike russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1964), p. 148, par. 77/2.

<sup>21</sup>"... perfective verbs with the prefix VY- are always stressed on this prefix (VÝJTI, VÝSTAVIT', VÝDAT', etc.) . . . , " Dennis Ward, The Russian Language Today, System and Anomaly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 48-49.

<sup>22</sup>In those infrequent words with the prefix RÓZ- (RÓS-) stress always falls on this prefix RÓZVAL'NI, RÓZYSK, RÓSPIS', RÓSPUSK, etc.).

<sup>23</sup>For meanings of verb prefixes see: J. A. Forsyth, A Grammar of Aspect, Usage, and Meaning in the Russian Verb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Akademija nauk SSSR (1970), pp. 254-275; a short outline of concrete



and abstract meanings of prefixes can also be found in: A. A. Vilgelminina, The Russian Verb: Aspect and Voice (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1963), pp. 22-32, tables 1, 2.

<sup>24</sup>Consonantal segment n (in linguistic literature also known as inserted n) was part of two prepositions in OR: #wun# and #sun#. The same segment is part of today's Russian prefixes V- and S- (VNIMÁT', SNIMÁT'). Other prefixes (DO-, ZA-, NA-, OB-, OT-, PERE-, PO-, POD-, PRI-, PRO-, RAZ-, U-) developed the segment n by analogy with the above two prefixes (OBNIMÁT', PODNIMÁT', etc.). Cf. also Townsend (1968), p. 79, footnote 1: "The N in NIM and NJA is an external element which became part of these root variants and 'replaced' the initial jot . . ."

<sup>25</sup>Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut russkogo jazyka, Grammatika russkogo jazyka, I, Fonetika i morfologija (Moskva: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1960), pp. 84-85.

<sup>26</sup>Coats (1970).

<sup>27</sup>Lightner (1972).

<sup>28</sup>Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

## CHAPTER II

### PRESENT STRUCTURE AND CLASSIFICATION OF PREFIXES IN THE GRAMMAR — STATIC CHARACTERISTICS

#### 2.0 Introduction

In this chapter the prefixal o-variant morphemes are subjected to cross-analysis with regard to their most important structural patterns as they exist in the CSR grammatical system. The purpose of the examination is to explicate the distinctive aspects of the significant morpheme regularities and arrangements, and the fundamental characteristics of prefixal and root morpheme segments, as well as to exemplify the prefixal units and their segments in terms of relationship to one another and to other linguistic phenomena having a direct influence on their formation.

#### 2.1 O-Variants and Their Productive Root Morphemes

The positing of the existing "o-variant morpheme + root morpheme" patterns, elaborated on the following pages, provides a detailed description of all possible Russian root morphemes which yield prefixal o-variant morphemes.

In some cases the root morpheme is known to exist only with the prefixal o-variant morpheme, that is, in the Russian lexicon no stem exists with the unprefixated root

morpheme alone. For example, OBOMŠÉT', but not \*MŠÉT'; SOPÉRNIK, but not \*PÉRNIK.

Under the sub-heading "Surface and Deep Forms of Representative Root Morphemes Taking O-Variant Prefixes" in the following list are given representative examples of all root morphemes preceded by o-variant prefixes. In those cases where the root morpheme and the o-variant morpheme are separated by an additional prefix, this particular prefix is put in parentheses immediately in front of the root morpheme. Although it is the second, additional prefixal morpheme and not the root morpheme which in most of these cases determines the structure of the initially placed o-variant morpheme, the root morphemes in question have been included as an illustrative, complementary part of the list.

Each post-prefixal morpheme and its UR form is followed by one or more prefixal o-variant examples from the CSR vocabulary, with an accompanying English gloss.

The UR's of the root morphemes are the abstract forms posited for particular root morphemes, in terms of the inventory of the underlying Russian segments described in the corresponding table given at the end of the first chapter.

There are cases where more than one root morpheme variant in the examples is prefixed by the o-variant. For example, there are SOOTVÉTSTVOVAT' and SOVEŠČÁNIE, with the root morphemes VET and VEŠČ, respectively. In cases like

these the most basic spelling form of the root morpheme, the one which underwent fewer phonological changes, is chosen and listed as the representative form (VET instead of VEŠČ). This selective principle applies throughout the entire listing.

Since the understanding of the subject matter treated in this thesis presupposes a fair knowledge of Russian, the listing of root morphemes and the accompanying prefixal o-variant morphemes follow the order of the Cyrillic alphabet.

Some words listed on the following pages had to be translated because there was no available English translation in any of the Russian-English dictionaries consulted. Although some words have more than one meaning, the number of English glosses has been kept to the essential minimum. At this stage the words in the examples have not been specified (obs., pf., impf., etc.) because they will be elaborated more fully in the third chapter.

The verbs, whether of contemporary usage or obsolete, are generally stated without the particle -SJA. If a verb in the Russian vocabulary exists only as a reflexive verb, then it is listed with the particle -SJA.

2.2 List of Surface and Deep Forms of Representative  
Root Morphemes Taking O-Variant Prefixes

<u>Orthographic</u> <u>Form of Root</u>	<u>Underlying</u> <u>Representa-</u> <u>tion of Root</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
1/ AVTOR	ōwtor	SOÁVTOR	"co-author"
2/ BESED	besēd	SOBESÉDNIK	"collocutor"
3/ BI	bij	VOB'JÚ	"I shall/will drive/ hammer in"
4/ BLAZN	blōzn	SOBLAZNÍT'	"to entice, tempt"
5/ BLJUD	bleud	SOBLJUSTÍ	"to observe, keep"
6/ BOL	bol	SOBOLEZNOVÁT'	"to condole with"
7/ BR	bir	VOBRÁT'	"to absorb, drink, suck in"
		OBOBRÁT'	"to pick, gather"
		PODOBRÁT'	"to pick up, select"
		RAZOBÉRÁT'	"to take, buy up, strip"
		SOBRÁT'	"to gather, collect, assemble"
		VZOBÉRÁT'SJA	"to climb, climb up"
8/ BRAT	brōt	SOBRÁT	"fellow (by profession), brother"
9/ BUTYL	boutūl	SOBUTÝL'NIK	"boon companion"
10/ BY	bū	SOBYTIE	"event"
11/ VEK	wēk	VOVĚK	"always, forever"
12/ VERŠ	wirx	SOVERŠÍT'	"to accomplish, perform"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>
13/ VES	wed	SÓVESTIT' "to reproach"
14/ VET	wēt	SOVÉT "advice, counsel"
		SOOTVÉTSTVOVAT' "to correspond (to/with), conform (to)"
		SOVEŠČÁNIE <sup>3</sup> "conference, meeting"
15/ V'J	wij	VOV'JÚ "I shall/will weave/ twist"
16/ VLAD [-R]	wold	SOVLADÁT' "to control, conquer"
17/ VLEK [-R]	welk	VOVLEKÁT' "to draw, involve"
		SOVLÉČ "to drag, pull off"
18/ VNE	wun	VOVNÉ "outside"
19/ (S)VOD	wod	SOSVÓDNIČAT' "to pamper, pimp"
		SOPROVODÍT' "to accompany"
20/ (IZ)VOL	wol	SOIZVÓLIT' "to be pleased"
21/ VR	wir	IZOVRÁT'SJA "to become a hard- ened liar"
		RAZOVRÁT'SJA "to be a passion- ate liar"
		SOVRÁT' "to lie"
22/ VRAT [-R]	wort	SOVRATÍT' "to seduce, pervert"
23/ VREMJA [-R]	werm + en <sup>4</sup>	VÓVREMJA "in time"
24/ VS	wis	VÓVSE "quite"
		SOVSÉM "quite; entirely"
		OTOVSJÚDU "from everywhere"
25/ VŠ	wux	OBOVŠÍVET' "to become lousy"
26/ GLAS [-R]	gols	SOGLASÍT' "to co-ordinate"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>
27/ GLJAD	glend	SCGLJADÁTAJ "spy"
28/ GN	gub	VOGNÚT' "to curve/bend inwards"
		IZOGNÚT' "to bend, curve"
		NADOGNÚT' "to bend/curve slightly"
		OBOGNÚT' "to round, skirt"
		OTOGNÚT' "to unbend, turn back"
		PODOGNÚT' "to tuck in, bend"
		RAZOGNÚT' "to unbend, straighten"
		SOGNÚT' "to bend, bow"
29/ GN	gun	VOGNÁT' "to drive in"
		OBOGNÁT' "to outrun, leave behind"
		OTOGNÁT' "to drive away, fight back"
		PODOGNÁT' "to drive on, adjust"
		RAZOGNÁT' "to drive away, disperse"
		SOGNÁT' "to drive away/ together"
30/ GR	gur	OBOGRÉT' "to warm oneself"
		OTOGRÉT' "to warm"
		PODOGRÉT' "to warm up"
		RAZOGRÉT' "to warm up"
		SOGRÉT' "to warm, heat"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>
31/ GRAŽD <sub>[-R]</sub>	gord + j	SOGRAŽDANÍN "fellow citizen"
32/ GREŠ	grēx	SOGREŠÍT' "to sin, trespass against"
33		
33/ (IZ)DA	dō	SOIZDÁTEL' "co-publisher"
34/ (U)DAR	dōr	SOUDARJÁT'SJA "to collide"
35/ DVI	dwīg	OTODVÍNUT' "to move aside"
36/ DVOR	dwor	VODVORÍT' "to install, settle"
37/ DE	dē	SODÉJSTVOVAT' "to assist, help, contribute"
38/ (PRE)DEL	dēl	SOPREDÉL'NOST' "contiguity"
39/ DERŽ	dirg	SODERŽÁT' "to maintain, support, keep"
40/ DN	din	OBODNJÁT' "to dawn"
41/ DOLŽ	dulg	SODOLŽNÍK "co-debtor"
42/ DR	dir	VZODRÁT' "to raise/lift up with effort"
		IZODRÁT' "to rend, tear (in several places to pieces)"
		NADODRÁT' "to tear slightly"
		OBODRÁT' "to tear, skin, peel"
		OTODRÁT' "to tear/rip off"
		RAZODRÁT' "to tear up"
		SODRÁT' "to strip, skin"
43/ DROG	drog	SODROGNÚT'SJA "to shudder"
44/ DRUŽ	droug	SODRÚŽESTVO "concord, co-operation"
45/DRUZ	drouz	VODRUZÍT' "to erect, hoist"



<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>
46/ DUŠ	doux	VOODUŠEVÍT' "to inspire"
47/ EDIN <sub>[-R]</sub>	jedīn	VOEDÍNO "together"
		SOEDINÍT' "to join, unite"
48/ ŽAL	gel	SOŽALÉT' "to regret, deplore"
49/ ŽD	gid	OBOŽDÁT' "to wait for a while"
50/ ŽŽ	gig	SOŽŽÉNIE "burning, cremation"
		IZOŽŽĚNNYJ "burnt all over"
51/ ŽI	giw	SOŽÍTĚL' "roommate"
		SOPEREŽIVÁT' "to co-experience, co-survive"
52/ ŽM	gim	VOŽMÚ "I shall/will squeeze"
		OBOŽMÚ "I shall/will squeeze from all sides"
		PODOŽMÚ "I shall/will sit crossing my legs"
		RAZOŽMÚ "I shall/will unclench/open"
		SOŽMÚ "I shall/will press/ squeeze"
53/ ŽMUR	gim	SOŽMÚRIT' "to blink"
54/ ŽN	gin	OBOŽNÚ "I shall/will reap to the end"
		OTOŽNÚ "I shall/will finish reaping"
		SOŽNÚ "I shall/will cut with a sickle"
55/ ŽR	gir	OBOŽRÁT' "to guzzle, overeat"
		SOŽRÁT' "to gorge, guzzle"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
56/ ZV	zuw	OBOZVÁT'	"to call, name"
		SOZVÁT'	"to invite, call, summon"
57/ ZVEZD	zwēzd	SOZVÉZDIE	"constellation"
58/ ZVON	zwon	SOZVONÍT'SJA	"to talk over (call up by) telephone"
59/ ZVUČ	zwon	SOZVUČÁT'	"to make consonant"
60/ ZD	zid	SOZDÁT'	"to create, originate, establish"
61/ ZL	zul	OBOZLÍT'	"to embitter"
62/ ZNA	znō	SOZNÁT'	"to be conscious, realize"
		SOOZNAČÁT'	"to signify"
63/ ZR	zir	OBOZRÉT'	"to survey, view, look around"
		SOZERCÁT'	"to contemplate"
64/ ZR	zir	SOZRÉT'	"to ripen, mature"
65/ (NA) (N) IM	īm	SONANIMÁTEL'	"co-tenant"
66/ IMEN	īm + en	SOIMÉNNIK	"namesake"
67/ ISK	isk	SOISKÁTEL'	"competitor"
68/ IST	ist	VOÍSTINU	"in truth"
69/ J	jid	VZOJTÍ <sup>5</sup>	"to mount, ascend"
		VOJTÍ	"to enter"
70/ KVARTIR	kwörtīr	SOKVARTIRÁNT	"co-tenant"
71/ (DO) KLAD	klōd	SODOKLÁD	"co-lecture, co-report"
72/ (PRI) KOS	kos	SOPRIKOSNÚT'SJA	"to be contig- uous, adjoin"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
73/ KRAS	krōd	OBOKRÁST'	"to rob"
74/ KRAT <sub>[-R]</sub>	kort	SOKRATÍT'	"to shorten, abbreviate"
75/ KREDIT	kredit	SOKREDÍTOR	"co-creditor"
76/ KRUG	kroug	VOKRÚG	"round, around"
77/ KRUŠ	kroux	SOKRUŠÍT'	"to smash, shatter"
78/ KRY	krū	SOKRÝT'	"to hide, conceal"
79/ (VO)KUP	koup	SOVOKUPÍT'	"to unite, combine"
80/ KURS	kours	SOKÚRSNIK	"classmate"
81/ (S)KUČ	kouk	SOSKÚČIT'	"to be bored, weary"
82/ LG	lug	IZOLGÁT'SJA	"to become an inveterate/incorrigible/ hardened liar"
83/ (S)--LUP	loup	SKOLUPÁT'	"to tear off by scratching"
84/ L'G	lig	VOL'GÓTNOST'	"freedom"
85/ L'J	lij	VOL'JÚ	"I shall/will pour in"
86/ L'ST	list	OBOL'STÍT'	"to seduce"
87/ MER	mēr	SORAZMÉRIT'	"to commensurate, proportion"
		SOIZMERJÁT'	"to commensurate, proportion"
88/ (V)MEST	mēst	SOVMESTÍT'	"to combine"
89/ MK	muk	OTOMKNÚT'	"to unlock, unbolt"
90/ ML	mul	OBOMLÉT'	"to be stupefied, frozen with terror"
91/ MN	min	SOMNÉNIE	"doubt"
		VOZOMNÍT'	"to become conceited"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
92/ MN	min	VOMNÚ	"I shall/will push/ squeeze"
93/ MNOŽ	munog	SOMNOŽÍTEL'	"factor"
94/ MR	mir	OBOMRÚ	"I shall/will faint"
95/ MST	mist	OTOMSTÍT'	"to revenge oneself, take vengeance"
96/ MČ	muk	VOMČÁT'	"to drive/run up with speed"
97/ MŠ	mux	OBOMŠÉT'	"to get covered with moss"
98/ (U)MYŠL	mūxil	SOUMÝŠLENNIK	"accomplice"
99/ (OT)NES	nes	SOOTNESTÍ	"to correlate"
100/ NZ	niz	VONZÍT'	"to stick, pierce, thrust"
101/ NOČ	nokt	SONOČLÉZNIK	"co-lodger in a tavern"
102/ NRAV	nurōw	RAZONRÁVIT'SJA	"to stop liking/ pleasing"
103/ OBŠČ <sup>6</sup> [-R]	ob+i+t+j	VOOBŠČÉ	"in general, generally"
		SOOBŠČÍT'	"to report, inform"
104/ OTEČ	otik	SOOTÉČESTVENNIK	"compatriot"
105/ OČ	ok	VOÓČIJU	"with one's own eyes"
106/ (V)PAD	pōd	SOVPÁST'	"to coincide, concur"
107/ (O)PEK	pek	SOOPEKÚN	"co-guardian"
108/ PER	pir	SOPÉRNIK	"rival"
109/ PLEK	plek	PODOPLĚKA	"the real state of affairs, behind the scene"
		PODOPLĚČNYJ	"lining"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
110/ PLEMEN	plem + en	SOPLEMÉNNIK	"tribesman"
111/ PLOD	plod	SOPLÓDIE	"collective fruit"
112/ PLOT	plot	VOPLÓTÍT'	"to incarnate, embody"
113/ PN	pin	VOPNÚT'	"to kick"
114/ PR	pir	VZOPRÉT'	"to get covered with perspiration"
		OTOPRÉT'	"to peel off on account of dampness"
		RAZOPRÉT'	"to swell from moisture"
		SOPRÉT'	"to rot"
115/ PRAV	prōw	SOPRAVÍTEL'	"co-ruler"
116/ PREK <sub>[-R]</sub>	perk	VOPREKÍ	"in spite of, despite"
117/ PROS	pros	VOPROSÍT'	"to inquire, question"
118/ PROTIV	protiw <sup>7</sup>	SOPROTIVLJÁT'SJA	"to oppose, resist"
		SOPROTIVLÉNIE	"resistance, opposition"
119/ P'J	pij	VOP'JÚ	"I shall/will absorb/ suck in"
120/ PRJAG	preng	SOPRJAGÁT'	"to join, unite"
121/ PUT	pout	SOPÚTSTVOVAT'	"to accompany"
		SOPÚTNIK	"fellow traveler"
122/ (OB) RAZ	rōz	SOOBRAZÍT'	"to consider, ponder"
123/ RAT	rōt	SORÁTNIK	"companion-in-arms"
124/ RV	ruw	VZORVÁT'	"to blow"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
125/ REV	riw	SOREVNOVÁT'	"to compete"
126/ RT	rut	SORTÚČKA	"amalgam"
127/ RUB	roub	SORUBÉŽNYJ	"parallel to boundary/border line"
128/ (O) RUD	roud	SOORUDÍT'	"to build, erect"
129/ (O) RUŽ	roug	VOORUŽÍT'	"to arm"
130/ SVAT	swōt	SOSVÁTAT'	"to propose smb. to smb. as a wife/husband"
131/ SVO	swo	VOSVOJÁSI	"to go back where one came from"
132/ SED	sēd	SOSÉDIT'	"to live in neighbourhood"
		SOSÉD	"neighbour"
133/ SKOB	skob	SOSKOBLÍT'	"to scrape/shave off"
134/ SKOL'Z	skuliz	SOSKOL'ZNÚT'	"to slide down/off"
135/ SKOČ	skok	SOSKOČÍT'	"to jump off/down, spring"
136/ SKREB	skreb	SOSKREBÁT'	"to scrape off"
137/ SL	sul	OTOSLÁT'	"to send away"
		PODOSLÁT'	"to send"
		SOSLÁT'	"to exile, banish"
138/ SLED	slēd	VOSLÉD	
		SONASLÉDOVAT'	"to co-inherit"
139/ SLEP	slēp	SÓSLEPA	"owing to poor sight"
140/ SLOV	slow	SOSLÓVNOST'	"class distinction"
141/ SOB	sob	OBOSÓBIT'	"to isolate"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
142/ SP	sup	OTOSPÁT'	"to sleep, have a long sleep"
143/ SP	sup	PODOSPÉT'	"to arrive/come on time"
144/ SRED <sub>[-R]</sub>	serd	SOSREDOTÓČIT'	"to concentrate"
		SOSREDOTÓČENIE	"concentration"
145/ STAR	stōr	SOSTÁRIT'	"to make old/older"
146/ STAV	stō + w	SOSTÁVIT'	"to put together, compose"
147/ STEG	steg	SOSTEGÁT'	"to quilt"
148/ STL	stil	IZOSTLÁT'	"to stretch, lay"
		PODOSTLÁT'	"to stretch/lay under"
		RAZOSTLÁT'	"to spread out"
149/ STRAD	strōd	SOSTRADÁT'	"to be compassionate"
150/ STRIG	strig	SOSTRIGÁT'	"to shear/clip off"
151/ STROJ	stro + j	SOSTRÓIT'	"to build, construct"
152/ SUD	soud	SOSÚD	"vessel"
153/ SUT	sout	SOPRISÚTSTVOVAT'	"to be co-present"
		SOSUŠČESTVOVÁT'	"to co-exist"
154/ TVOR	twor	SOTVORÍT'	"to create, make"
155/ TIR	tir	SOSTIRÁT'	"to wash/wipe off/ away"
156/ TK	tuk	VOTKÁT'	"to interweave"
		VOTKNÚT'	"to stick/drive in"
157/ TL	til	SOTLÉT'	"to rot, decay"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
158/ TOVAR	towōr	SOTOVÁRIŠČ	"associate, partner"
159/ TR	tir	VOTRÚ	"I shall/will rub in/into"
160/ TRAPEZ	trōpez	SOTRAPÉZNIK	"table companion"
161/ TRUD	troud	SOTRÚDNIK	"collaborator"
162/ TRJAS	trens	SOTRJASTÍ	"to shake, tremble"
163/ TŠČ	tusk	VOTŠČÉ	"in vain"
164/ (S)TYK	tuk	SOSTYKÁT'	"to join, connect, link"
165/ (S)TJAZ	teng	SOSTJAZÁT'SJA	"to compete"
166/ UZ	ouz	SOÚZNIK	"fellow prisoner"
167/ UL	oul	ZAKOÚLOK	"back street"
168/ UM	oum	NADOÚMIT'	"to suggest an idea, advise"
169/ UČ	ouk	SOUČENÍK	"schoolmate"
170/ XOZJA	xozen + j	SOXOZJÁIN	"co-owner"
171/ XRAN [-R]	xorn	SOXRANÍT'	"to keep, preserve, retain"
172/ CAR	koir	VOCARÍT'	"to establish supremacy"
173/ CVET	kwēt	SOCVÉTIE	"floscule, raceme"
174/ (U)ČAST	kēs	SOUČÁSTVOVAT'	"to participate"
		SOPRIČÁSTNOST'	"complicity, participation"
175/ ČELOVEČ	kelowěk	VOČELOVÉČIT'SJA	"to take human likeness"
176/ ČET	ket	SOČETÁT'	"to combine"



<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>	
177/ ČIN	kin	SOČINÍT'	"to write, compose, invent"
		SOPODČINÍT'	"to subordinate, co-ordinate"
178/ ČT	kit	RAZOČTĚNNYJ	"premeditated"
179/ (PRI) ČES	ket	SOPRIČÉST'	"to add, attach"
180/ (PRI) ČIS	kīs	SOPRIČÍSLIT'	"to add, attach"
181/ ČLEN <sub>[-R]</sub>	keln	SOČLENÍT'	"to join"
182/ ČUV	keuw	SOČÚVSTVOVAT'	"to sympathize (with), feel (for)"
183/ ŠV	xiw	PODÓŠVA	"sole"
184/ ŠJ	xij	VOŠJÚ	"I shall/will sew in"
		SOŠJÚ	"I shall/will sew together"
185/ ŠED	xid	VOŠÉDŠIJ	"having come in"
		VZOŠÉDŠIJ	"having ascended"
		IZOŠÉDŠIJ	"having walked all over"
		SNIZOŠÉDŠIJ	"having descended"
		OBOŠÉDŠIJ	"having circumnavigated"
		OTOŠÉDŠIJ	"having departed"
		PODOŠÉDŠIJ	"having approached"
		RAZOŠÉDŠIJSJA	"having departed/ separated"
		SOŠÉSTVIE	"descent, comedown"
186/ ŠČIP	skīp	SOŠČIPÁT'	"to pluck"

<u>Root</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>E x a m p l e s</u>
187/ ŠČUR	skeur	SOŠČÚRIT' "to screw up one's eyes"

### 2.3 Mutual Combination Patterns of Russian Prefixal Morphemes

In the following section an analysis has been done to find out the combinations<sup>8</sup> and arrangements of all Russian prefixal morphemes with regard to the prefixal o-variant morphemes. The area of investigation undertaken concerns the pre-root segmentation of prefixes, revealing the structural relationship and combinative possibilities of Russian prefixes among themselves, as left-hand components of the word, removed from the stem. In other words, the prefixes in question have been analyzed as separate entities with the identification of their existing combinations.

There may appear to be some inconsistencies in the treatment and selection of the prefixal morphemes under analysis because of the fact that by using a synchronic approach some of the Russian prefixal morphemes can no longer be separated from their stems, since these prefixes and stems have formed lexical and grammatical entities with no observable segmental boundaries. Consequently, the prefixal data for the analysis following this section collected from the RDD have been presented in such a way that the separation of the various prefixal morpheme constituents is carried out

according to the Dictionary. Although the main interest here is in the prefixal o-variant morphemes (in each case underlined), the investigation also includes other prefixes and their variants to illustrate the distribution pattern in its totality.

#### 2.4 Distribution Pattern of Two or More Prefixal Morphemes

In the two-morpheme pattern the first and second prefixal morpheme are followed by a dash (-); in the three- and four-morpheme patterns a plus sign (+) is inserted between the second, third, and fourth prefixal morphemes.

The underlined prefixal morphemes represent o-variants. Each pattern which includes an o-variant is followed by an example in parenthesis.

ANTI-<sup>9</sup>  
[-R]: NA- O- OB-

ARXI-  
[-R]: NE- IS- O-

BEZ-<sup>10</sup>: V- VOZ- VY- DO- ZA- YZ- YS- NA- NAD- O-  
OT- RAZ- RAS- U-

BES- : PA-<sup>11</sup> PERE- PO- POD- PRE- PRED- PRI- PRO-  
S- SO- (BESSOZNÁTEL'NOST')

V- : DO- ZA- N- NA- NI- PERE- PO- PRI- PRO-  
RAZ- RAS- RÓS-

VO-<sup>12</sup> : O- (VOODUŠEVÍT')<sup>13</sup> OB- (VOOBRAZÍT')

VZ- : N-

VNE- : O- PO- S-

VNUTRI- : OT- SU-<sup>14</sup>

VOZ- : NA- NE- OB-

NE+NA-

VOS- : PO- PRE- PRI- PRIN- SO- (VOSSOZDAVÁT')

PRO+IZ-

VS- : KO- (VSKOLUPNÚT') PO-

VSE- : PRE+O-

VY- : Z- KO- (VÝKOLUPAT') PO- PRO- S-

VYŠE- : IZ- NA- O- OT- PERE- PO- S- U-

U+PO-

DO- : VZ- VO- (DOVOORUŽÁT') VY- Z- ZA- NE- O- OB-

PO- PRI- PRO- RAS- RE- [-R] S- SO- (DOSOČINÍT')

U-

ZA- : BES- VZ- DE- [-R] KO- (ZAKOÚLOK) N- NA- NE-

OB- PO- POD- PODA-<sup>15</sup> PODO- (ZAPODOZRÍT') PRE-

PRI- PRO- S- SN- SO- (ZASÓVESTIT'SJA) SU-

S"- U-

IZ-<sup>16</sup> : BEZ- ZA- NA- NE- NI- OB- RAZ- RAS- U-

IS- : KO- (ISKOLUPÁT') PO- POD-

K- : NA-

KONTR- [-R] : PRI- PRED-

MEŽ- : ZA- OB- OT- PO- POD"- SU-

MEŽD-<sup>17</sup> : U-

MEŽDO- : U-

MEŽDU- : NA-

NA- : V- VZ- VS- VY- DO- IZ- IS- KO- (NAKOLUPÁT')  
 O- OB- OT- PERE- PO- POD- PRI- PRIN- PRO-  
 RAS- S- SN- SO- (NASOVSÉM) SU- U-  
 BEZ+OB- IZ+NA-

NAD- : OB- PA- PERE- PO-

NAI-<sup>18</sup>: VY-

NE- : BEZ- BES- V- VZ- VN- VO- (NEVOORUŽĚNNYJ) VOZ-  
 VOS- VS- VY- DO- ZA- ZAN- IZ- IZ"- IS- K-  
 NA- NAD- O- OB- OBO- (NEOBOZRÍMOST') OB"- OT-  
 OT"- PERE- PO- POD- PON- PRE- PRED- PRI-  
 PRO- RAZ- RAS- S- SO- (NESOMNĚNNOST') SU- S"-  
 BEZ+VY- BEZ+ZA- BEZ+NA- BEZ+O- BEZ+OB-  
 BEZ+RAZ- BEZ+RAS- BEZ+U- BEZ+YZ- BES+PO-  
 BES+PRI- BES+S-<sup>19</sup>

V+DO- V+PO- V+PRO- V+RAZ-

VZ+NA-

VOZ+NA-

VOS+PRI-

DO+Z-<sup>20</sup> DO+OB- DO+PO- DO+PON- DO+RAZ- DO+S-

DO+U-

ZA+PRI- ZA+U-

IZ+RAS- IZ+OB-

IS+PO-

O+BES- O+PO- O+PRE- O+PRO- O+S-

PO+Z-<sup>21</sup>

PRE+O- PRE+VZO- (NEPREVZOJDĚNNOST')

PRED+U-

PRO+IZ-

RAS+PO- RAS+S-

S+PO- S+POD-

SO+V- (NESOVPAĐÉNIE) SO+IZ- (NESOIZMERÍMOST')

SO+OB- (NESOOBRÁZNOST') SO+OT- (NESOOTVÉTSTVIE)

SO+RAZ- (NESORAZMÉRNOST')

U+DO- U+PO- U+SO- (NEUSOVERŠÉNSTVOVANNOST')

DO+PRO+IZ-

PRI+S+PO-

NI- : K- OT- PO- S-

NIS- : PRO-

NIŽE- : IZ- O- PO- POD- S- U-

U+PO-

O- : BEZ- BES- ZA- IS- PA- PO- PRE- PRI- PRO-

S- SO- (OSOVREMÉNIT')

BEZ+ZA- BEZ+NA- BEZ+OB-

BES+S-

OB- : ZA- NA- RAZ- U-

OT- : KO- (OTKOLUPÁT') N- O- OB- PO- S- SN-

SO- (OTSOVÉTOVAT') SU-

PERE- : AD- [-R] VO- (PEREVOORUŽÁT') VOS- VY- DIS- [-R]

DO- ZA- ZAN- IZ- NA- O- OB- PO- POD- PRI-

PRO- RAS- S- SN- SO- (PERESOSTÁVIT') SU- S"-

U-

PRO+IZ- RAS+PRE- S+NA-

PO-<sup>22</sup> : BEZ- BES- V- VZ- VOZ- VY- DO- Z- ZA- ZAN-  
 IZ- IZO- (POIZORVÁT'SJA) KO- (POKOLUPÁT') N-  
 NA- NE- O- OB- OT- PERE- PO-<sup>23</sup> PRI- PRO-  
 RAZ- RAZ"- RAS- RE-[-R] RÓS- S- SN-  
SO- (POSÓVESTIT'SJA) SU- U-

POD- : VZ- VY- ZA- ZAN- KO- (PODKOLÚPYVAT') NA- NAD-  
 NAN- NE- O- OB- OT- PERE- PO- PRA-<sup>24</sup> RAZ-  
 S- SO- (PODSOKRATÍT') U-

POSLE-: OB- PO- U-

PRA- : PRA-<sup>25</sup>

PRE-<sup>26</sup> : VZO- (PREVZOJTÍ) VOZ- VOS- ZA- IZ- IS- NE-  
 O- OB- PO- PRO- S- U-

PRED- : V- VZ- VOZ- VOS- VY- DO- ZA- YZ- NA- O-  
 OB- OT- PO- PRI- PRIN- RAS- S- S"- U-  
 O+PRE- RAS+PO-

PREŽDE-<sup>27</sup> : NA-

PRI-<sup>28</sup> : V- ZA- ZAN- NA- NAD- NAN- NE- O- OB- OT-  
 PO- POD- PODN- S- SO- (PRISOSÉDIT'SJA) SU- U-  
 S+PO- SO+VO- (PRISOVOKUPÍT')

PRO- : VZO- (PROVZOJTÍ) VOZ- DE-[-R] DO- ZA- IZ-  
IZO- (PROIZOJTÍ) IS- KO- (PROKOLUPÁT') OB- PO-  
 S- SO- (PROSOBIRÁT') SU-  
 MEŽ+U-

PROTIVO- : VOZ- VOS- IZ- OB- OT- PO- U-

S+NA-

RAZ-<sup>29</sup> : DO- ZA- N- NA- NE- O- OB- OT- RE-[-R] U-

RAS- : KO- (RASKOLUPÁT') PA- PO- PRE- PRO- S-

SO- (RASSOVÉTOVAT')

PRED+U-

RÓS-<sup>30</sup> : S-

S- : VERX"- YZ- YS-<sup>31</sup> KO- (SKOLUPÁT') NA- NIZO-

(SNIZOJTÍ) NIS- PO- POD- PRO- RAZ- SU-

VERX+IZ- VERX+S- VERX+U-

PO+ZA-

SO-<sup>32</sup> : V- VO- (SOVOKUPÍT') ZA- IZ- DO- NA- NAN- O-

OB- OT- PERE- PO- POD- PRE- PRI- PRO- RAZ-

S- U-

NE+OB-

SU-<sup>33</sup> : PO-

SUB-[-R] : POD-<sup>34</sup>

SUPER-[-R] : OB-

U- : DO- NA- NI- PO- RAZ- S- SO- (USÓVESTIT') SU-

## 2.5 Summary of Distribution Patterns of O-Variant Prefixal Morphemes Occurring with Other Prefixes

1) BES+SO-

2) VO+O- VO+OB-

3) VOS+SO-



- 4) VS+KO-
- 5) VY+KO-
- 6) DO+VO- DO+SO-
- 7) ZA+KO- ZA+PODO- ZA+SO-
- 8) IS+KO-
- 9) NA+KO- NA+SO-
- 10) NE+VO- NE+OBO- NE+SO-  
 NE+PRE+VZO- NE+SO+V- NE+SO+IZ- NE+SO+OB- NE+SO+OT-  
 NE+SO+RAZ- NE+U+SO-
- 11) O+SO-
- 12) OT+KO- OT+SO-
- 13) PERE+VO- PERE+SO-
- 14) PO+IZO- PO+KO- PO+SO-
- 15) POD+KO- POD+SO-
- 16) PRE+VZO-
- 17) PRI+SO-
- 18) PRI+SO+VO-
- 19) PRO+VZO- PRO+IZO- PRO+KO- PRO+SO-
- 20) RAS+KO- RAS+SO-
- 21) S+KO- S+NIZO-
- 22) SO+VO-
- 23) U+SO-

## 2.6 Phonological Processes of Lowering and Dropping in Prefixal Distribution Pattern

<u>Regular</u>	<u>Irregular</u>
<u>Lowering Rule Applies</u>	<u>Lowering Rule Does Not Apply</u>
NE + SO + V-	BEZ + V-
PROTIVO + S + NA-	OT + S-
SO + V-	OT + SN-
SO + S-	POD + VZ-
	POD + S-
<u>Dropping Rule Applies</u>	
BEZ + VOZ-	
OT + KO-	
OT + O-	
OT + OB-	
OT + SO-	
POD + KO-	
POD + SO-	
S + KO-	

Note: Lowering and Dropping occur in the first prefixal morpheme except when preceded by NE- (Regular Lowering).

## 2.7 Phonological Processes of Lowering and Dropping in Prefixal Morphemes

Some typical derivations of the lowering rule (V-LOWER) and the dropping rule (V-DROP) are given in the following examples.

The underlying u in the prefixal morpheme is usually lowered to o if the following prefixal morpheme has an underlying segment u which subsequently drops.

1) SOVPÁST' "to coincide", pf.; SOVPADÁT', impf.

UR: # su + wu + pōd + ... #

(UNROUND): ā

(w → v): v

(V-LOWER): o

(V-DROP): ∅

IR: # so + v + pād + ... #

The consonant d in #pād# undergoes assibilation, becoming t, and then undergoes voicing assimilation (before the infinitive ending #t'i#) to be finally realized as s (# so + v + pās + t' #).

- 2) SOSVÓDNIČAT' "to pamper, pimp", pf., coll.;  
SVÓDNIČAT', impf.

UR: # su + su + wod +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

(w  $\rightarrow$  v): v

(C  $\rightarrow$  C'): d'

(V-LOWER): o -

(V-DROP): -  $\emptyset$

IR: # so + s + vod' + ... #

- 3) SOVMESTÍT' "to combine", pf.; SOVMEŠČÁT', impf.

UR: # su + wu + mēst +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

(w  $\rightarrow$  v): v

(C  $\rightarrow$  C'): m' t'

(V-LOWER): o -

(V-DROP): -  $\emptyset$

(CC'  $\rightarrow$  C'C'): s'

IR: # so + v + m'es't' + ... #

In the above three examples the underlying u in the first prefixal morpheme is lowered to o, because the following prefixal morpheme also contains an underlying segment u. This latter u is subsequently dropped by the application of the (V-DROP) rule.

In the example below (OTSČITÁT'), the lowering rule does not apply as expected. Instead, the (V-DROP) rule deletes the underlying segment u in both prefixal morphemes.

In this irregular example the first u should be lowered to o, and only the second segment u dropped. Thus the correct form would be \*OTOSČITÁT'.

4) OTSČITÁT' "to count off, count out", pf.;

OTSČÍTYVAT', impf.

UR: # otu + su + kīt + ... #

(K → Č): č

(C → C'): č'

(V-DROP): ∅ ∅

IR: # ot + s + č'īt + ... #

## 2.8 Distribution of Prefixal O-Variants in Formation of Different Parts of Speech

In comparison with the prefixation process considered in its totality in word-formation,<sup>35</sup> the distribution of the prefixal o-variant morphemes in the formation of a particular part of speech has been found to have the following numerical distribution:

	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Adverb</u>	<u>Total</u>
VO-	6	29	15	50
VZO-	-	8	-	8
VOZO-	-	1	-	1
IZO-	-	10	-	10
KO-	1	1	-	2
NADO-	-	4	-	4
NIZO-	-	1	-	1
OBO-	1	24	-	25
OTO-	-	21	1	22
PODO-	1	22	-	23
RAZO-	-	20	-	20
SO-	<u>107</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>245</u>
Total:	116	276	19	411
In % :	28.4%	67.0%	4.6%	100%

The above distribution of the prefixal o-variant morphemes illustrates that they are the most active in the formation of verbs;<sup>36</sup> however, the prefixal o-variant SO- is also extensively used in the formation of nouns. In its distribution pattern, the prefixal o-variant VO- is also widely used, being productive in verbs, adverbs, and nouns.

The relative frequency of the above parts of speech is:

1)	verbs	276
2)	nouns	116
3)	adverbs	<u>19</u>
Total:		411

The relative order of frequency of the particular prefixal o-variant is:

1)	SO-	245
2)	VO-	50
3)	OBO-	25
4)	PODO-	23
5)	OTO-	22
6)	RAZO-	20
7)	IZO-	10
8)	VZO-	8
9)	NADO-	4

10)	KO-	2
11)	VOZO-	1
12)	NIZO-	<u>1</u>
Total:		411

The above distribution of the prefixal o-variants represents an approximation from the data examples. Adjectives and participles have not been included in the present analysis because of the limited objectives of this paper and avoidance of unnecessary duplication.

Note also the following marginal examples of those root morphemes preceded by the prefixal o-variant morphemes VOZO-, NIZO-, and KO-. The first two are CS borrowings and are unproductive in the contemporary Russian language system. The third, the prefixal o-variant KO-, is a "fossilized" relic of what used to be the existing prefix. Both K- and its o-variant KO- are no longer productive. The former is found in a few adverbial formations, such as KVÉRXU, KNARÚŽI, KNÍZU, KNUTRÍ, KSTÁTI, and the latter only in SKOLUPÁT', and derived forms having the same root morpheme.

The productivity of the prefixation process<sup>37</sup> is in general a widespread feature in the formation of verbs,<sup>38</sup> but has very moderate productivity in the formation of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. As can be seen from the preceding tables, the prefixal o-variants follow the above process.



## 2.9 Prefixal O-Variants in Relation to Current Stylistic Usage

The following numerical representation demonstrates the current stylistic usage of prefixal o-variants (attached to words), as listed in SSRLJ. The figures represent only approximate frequencies, because only the main lexical entries from the above dictionary have been cited.

<u>O-Variant</u> <u>Prefix</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Collo-</u> <u>quial</u>	<u>Popular</u> <u>Speech</u>	<u>Obso-</u> <u>lete</u>	<u>Provin-</u> <u>cial</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
VO-	32	-	1	2	-	35
VZO-	2	-	2	1	-	5
VOZO-	1	-	-	1	-	2
IZO-	12	4	1	1	-	18
-KO-	1	1	-	-	-	2
NADO-	6	2	-	1	-	9
NIZO-	-	-	-	1	-	1
OBO-	44	13	4	6	5	72
OTO-	31	4	-	1	-	36
PODO-	40	4	1	2	-	47
RAZO-	26	5	2	-	-	33
SO-	462	51	6	149	-	668
TOTAL:	657	84	17	165	5	928

## 2.10 Prefixal O-Variants and Aspect of Verbs

In the aspectual formation of verbs,<sup>39</sup> Russian prefixes can be divided into two groups, one group frequently deprived of lexical meaning, as ZA-, O- (OB-, OBO-), PO-, S- (SO-), and the other, IZ- (IZO-, IS-), PRI-, U-, less frequently. The first group, purely aspect-formative prefixes, also called "empty" prefixes, limit the action of the verb without changing its lexical meaning.

The numerical representation of prefixal o-variants, found to be participating in the formation of the aspectual opposition, is summarized below.

<u>Prefixal</u> <u>O-Variant</u>	<u>A s p e c t</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	
VO-	5	15	20
VZO-	1	5	6
VOZO-	1	1	2
IZO-	1	9	10
KO-	-	-	-
NADO-	1	4	5
NIZO-	-	1	1
OBO-	6	21	27
OTO-	4	17	21
PODO-	7	17	24
RAZO-	5	18	23

SO-	89	86	175
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	120	194	314
In %:	38.2%	61.8%	100%

As can be seen from the comparative data, in the majority of cases prefixal o-variants have numerical superiority in the formation of the perfective aspect, with the single exception of the prefixal o-variant SO-, where the imperfective aspect examples (89) outnumber the perfective (86).

The above aspectual representation does not portray the true picture of any one verb and its aspectual pairs, but rather it portrays a comprehensive applicability of prefixal o-variants functioning in the formation of the imperfective and perfective aspect in the infinitive forms noted in the data. Consequently, no conjugated aspectual examples have been included in the above summary.

## 2.11 Prefixal O-Variants and Phonological Assimilation

The observation of some o-variant prefixes suggests the possibility that in some instances the phonological process of assimilation functions as the instrumental factor in the development of certain prefixal o-variant forms. The underlying root morphemes in such cases are syllabic (no dropping of jers has taken place), and under such structural conditions words are normally formed with regular prefixal

morphemes.

It cannot be ruled out that these occurrences of o-variant forms are perhaps established because the corresponding regular prefixal morphemes would alter or block the intended meaning of the utterances and make it ambiguous. A few selected forms below illustrate the irregularity as a possible alternative to avoid ambiguity. For instance, there is,

- 1) OTOŠĚL, but not \*OTŠĚL, which would be realized as [ʌčól];
- 2) PODOŠĚL, " \*PODŠĚL, " " [pʌčól];
- 3) SOŽÍTIE, " \*SŽÍTIE, " " [žž'ít'jə];
- 4) SOZOVÚ, " \*SZOVÚ, " " [zzʌvú];
- 5) SOVÉT (# su + wēt #), instead of SVÉT (# swēt #).

## 2.12 Prefixal O-Variants and Initial Root Morpheme Surface Segments

In the following section the initial root morpheme consonants, vowels, and consonant clusters are subjected to a synchronic analysis to determine the role of the initial root morpheme surface segments<sup>40</sup> in the selection of the prefixal o-variant morphemes.

The numerous details found in the various linguistic works concerning the statistical description of the initial consonant clusters of the root morpheme are usually limited to the most obvious examples. The main purpose of this

particular analysis is to present the complete segmental composition found at the beginning of those root morphemes having o-variant prefixes, which, in the linguistic literature checked, has never been presented in its totality.

It may come as a surprise that, of the total number of initial consonant clusters of the root morphemes, there is more than one surface environment of the initial consonants and vowels which, on the synchronic level, appear to be directly involved as factors governing the phonological structure of the prefixal o-variant morphemes. This environmental factor will become clearer in the second stage of the analysis, when the positing of the deep structure (UR's) of root morphemes will considerably limit and group together various surface consonant clusters.

## 2.13 Inventory of Initial Root Morpheme Orthographic Segments

Prefixal o-variant morpheme	Vowel	C o n s o n a n t				
		one	t	w	o	three
VO-	E, I, O	B, V, J, Č, Š	B'J, BR, VL, VN, VR, VS, GN, DR, DV, ŽM, JT, KR, L'G, MN, MČ, NZ, PL, PN, PR, RV, SL, SV, TK			TK (N), TŠČ
VZO-	-	V, J, Š	BR, VJ, DR, JT, PR, RV			-
VOZO-	-	-	MN			-
IZO-	-	J, P, Š	BR, VR, GN, DR, JT, LG, MN, P'J, RV, TK			STL
KO-	U	L		-		-
NADO-	U	-	GN, DR, RV			-
NIZO-	-	J, Š	JT			-
OBO-	-	J, S, Š	BR, VŠ, GN, GR, DN, DR, ŽD, ŽM, ŽN, ŽR, ZV, ZL, ZN, ZR, JT, KR, LG, ML, MN, MR, MŠ, PR, RV			L'ST
OTO-	-	J, Š	BR, VS, GN, GR, DV, DR, ŽM, ŽN, ZV, JT, LG, PR, RV, SL, SP			MK (N), MST, TK (N)
PODO-	-	J, Š	BR, GN, GR, DV, ŽD, ŽM, ZV, ZR, JT, MN, PL, PR, RV, SL, TK, ŠV			L'ST, STL, MŠČ, TK (N)
RAZO-	-	G, J, Š	BR, VR, GN, GR, DR, ŽM, ZL, JT, LG, ML, MN, NR, PR, RV, SL, SP, TK, ČT			MK (N), STL
SO-	E, I, O, U	B, V, D, Ž, Z, J, K, N, P, R, S, T, X, Č, Š	BL, BR, VL, VM, VP, VR, RS, GB, GL, GN, GR, DR, DV, ŽM, ŽN, ŽR, ZD, ZV, ZN, ZR, JT, KR, LG, ML, MN, MČ, PL, PR, RV, RT, SV, SK, SL, SN, SR, ST, TV, TK, TL, TR, XR, CV, ČL, ČT, Š'J, ŠČ			MK (N), SKR, STR, TK (N)

The following table is a numerical summary of the preceding initial root morpheme segmental inventory.

2.14 Ratio of Initial Root Morpheme Segments Participating in Formation of Prefixal O-Variant Morphemes

<u>Prefixal o-variant</u>	<u>One letter</u>		<u>Two-letter</u>	<u>Three-letter</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>vowel</u>	<u>consonant</u>	<u>consonant</u>	<u>consonant</u>	
VO-	3	6	23	2	34
VZO-	-	3	6	-	9
VOZO-	-	-	1	-	1
IZO-	-	3	10	1	14
KO-	1	1	-	-	2
NADO-	1	-	3	-	4
NIZO-	-	2	1	-	3
OBO-	-	3	23	1	27
OTO-	-	2	15	3	20
PODO-	1	2	16	4	22
RAZO-	-	3	19	2	24
SO-	4	15	46	4	69
Total:	9	40	163	17	229

2.15 Classification of Syllabic Versus Non-syllabic Initial Consonant Clusters of Root Morphemes

The syllabic root morpheme has a vowel (deleted in the list below)<sup>41</sup> following the initial consonant or consonant cluster,<sup>42</sup> such as BOL in SOBOLÉZNOVAT', VEK in VOVÉK,

and belonging to that root morpheme.

The non-syllabic root morpheme has lost the original vowel segment in the root morpheme and, consequently, the root morpheme consists only of a consonant cluster, such as BR in VOBRÁT', GR in SOGRÉT'.

Initial letter	S y l l a b i c		N o n - s y l l a b i c	
	two-letter cluster	three-letter cluster	two-letter cluster	three-letter cluster
B	BL, BR	-	B'J, BR	-
V	VL, VR	-	V'J, VN, VR, VS, VŠ	-
G	GL, GR	-	GB, GN, GR	-
D	DV, DT	-	DN, DR	-
Ž	ŽM	-	ŽD, ŽŽ, ŽM, ŽN, ŽR	-
Z	ZV, ZN	-	ZV, ZD, ZL, ZR	-
K	KV, KR	-	-	-
L	-	-	LG, L'J	-
M	MN	-	MK, ML, MN, MR, MČ, MŠ	MST, MSČ
N	NR	-	NZ	-
P	PL, PR	-	P'J, PN, PR	-
R	-	-	RV, RT	-
S	SV, SK, SL, SP, SR, ST	SKR, STR	SL, SP	STL
T	TV, TR	-	TK, TL	TŠČ



Initial letter	S y l l a b i c		N o n - s y l l a b i c	
	two-letter cluster	three-letter cluster	two-letter cluster	three-letter cluster
X	XR	-	-	-
C	CV	-	-	-
Č	ČL	-	ČT	-
Š	-	-	ŠJ	-
ŠČ	ŠČ	-	-	-

## 2.16 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter an attempt has been made to account for the prefixal o-variant morphemes at their present synchronic level. A relevant description of the entire corpus of Russian prefixal morphemes has been presented in connection with o-variant morphemes and their interrelations. The various approaches employed deal with the problem of the existence of established regular and idiosyncratic prefixal o-variants and their configurations interpreted in terms of the static structural characteristics of the root morpheme following them.

A practical problem connected with the corpus of data has been to obtain possible confirmation or some definite statistical evidence which would, within a strictly synchronic context, disclose the co-occurrence of prefixal o-variant morphemes with certain linguistic forms. The o-variants have been scrutinized and appropriate groupings

formed in relation to parts of speech, aspects of the Russian verb, syllabicity, and other linguistic phenomena believed to be relevant for classifying the o-variants into a distinct, finite number of types. However, the evidence fails to demonstrate such interrelationships precisely because the above morphological, syntactic, and other phenomena are essentially surface structure categories.

The root morpheme associated with prefixal o-variants, the former being the key structural elements in the o-variant formation process, have been further analyzed by examining the phonological properties of their initial segments to establish any common features relating to o-variants. In other words, the root morphemes have been subdivided into elementary linguistic units, in the hope that the latter would yield closely-knit classes having some common phonological properties. Such classes, however, did not materialize.

The statistical facts contained in this study demonstrate that, although a certain number of prefixal o-variant morphemes occur within certain groups, such evidence does not account for differences associated with the structural aspect of prefixal o-variants. The advantage in looking at these static constructions was to eliminate in advance any doubt that the phenomenon of o-variants could be adequately explained at the surface level.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1

For an analysis of prefixes as prederivatives in the main Slavic languages, see: Kristine Heltberg, "Combinative Relations of Prederivatives," Studies on Slavic Derivation (Odense: Odense University Press, 1970), pp. 100-124.

2

For a discussion of a wide variety of initial consonants in Russian see: T. P. Lomtev "Prevokal'nye soglasnye fonemy i ix gruppy, javljajuščiesja inicijalami," Fonologija sovremennogo russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Vyssšaja škola, 1972), pp. 203-212. See also: N. I. Fedorova "K voprosu sočetaemosti soglasnyx v sovremennom russkom jazyke," Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta, No. 1 (1969), Serija X, Filologija (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo moskovskogo universiteta, 1969), pp. 62-70.

The inventory of the initial root morpheme segments described at the end of Chapter II had been done before the above two works were obtained for the analysis.

3

The most basic form of spelling is chosen as the representative root form in all those cases when more than one form is listed in the examples.

4

In cases like these, the attached suffixes in "fossilized" roots were also listed under UR to show the origin of the form. Cf. also examples No. 66, 103, 110, 146, 151, and 170.

5

Consonant clusters vzj, vjt, and sjt do not exist in the Russian language system.

6

For probable etymology of this root morpheme see, for example, G. P. Cyganenko, Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo radjans'ka škola, 1970), p. 306.

7

The origin of this root is in the prefixal form #protiwu#.

8

For a discussion of the interrelations of Slavic prefixes see: Heltbert (1970), "Mutual Combinations of Prederivatives," pp. 125-136.

9

Its synonymic pair of Russian origin in PROTIV- (PROTIVO-); cf. ANTI O B Š Č E S T V E N N Y J and P R O T I V O O B Š Č E S T V E N N Y J.

The prefix ANTI- belongs to the group of prefixes of Greek origin (A-, AN-, ANTI-, ARXI-, PAN-, EV-, GIPER-, and GIPO-).

<sup>10</sup>One of the basic orthographic rules in Russian is that a written form is independent of pronunciation (morphological principle). There are exceptions concerning prefixes ending in z (BEZ-, VOZ-, IZ-, NIZ-, RAZ-, ROZ-, ČREZ-, and CEREZ-), which are governed by the phonetic principle: in front of vowels and voiced consonants these prefixes end in the letter z, in front of voiceless consonants in s.

<sup>11</sup>Prefixal morpheme PA- has been found in the words PÁLUBIT', BESPÁLUBNYJ, and some other prefixal derivations with the same root morpheme. It is usually considered that this prefix is a "fossilized" variant of the prefix PO-.

<sup>12</sup>VO-, VOZ- (VOS-), IZ- (IS-), NIZ- (NIS-), PRE-, PRED-, SO-, and ČREZ- are usually listed as prefixes of OCS origin.

<sup>13</sup>Note the sequence of two identical vowels, not uncommon at the boundary of two morphemes but of limited occurrence within a root morpheme (PAÚK, NAÚKA, etc.). See discussion of such examples in Halle (1959), p. 30.

<sup>14</sup>Prefix SU-, a "fossilized" unproductive relic in CS, was eventually replaced by SO-.

<sup>15</sup>The only case of the prefixal variant PODA- has been found in the word ZAPODÁZRIVAT' "to suspect," impf. It is listed in Ožegov: ZAPODÓZRIT', pf. — ZAPODÁZRIVAT', impf. In Orfografičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka it is listed as: ZAPODÓZRIT', pf. — a) ZAPODÁZRIVAT', impf., and b) ZAPODÓZRIVAT', impf. In the SSRLJ both aspects are listed with an o: ZAPODÓZRIT', pf. — ZAPODÓZREVAT', impf. Note in the latter form the suffix -EVA-. The prefix PODA- is still another "fossilized" variant developed from UR #podu#, its function being taken over by the prefix PODO-.

<sup>16</sup>The prefix IZ-, of OCS origin, is a synonym of the Russian prefix VY-; the former is generally associated with abstract words of different stylistic usage.

<sup>17</sup>The consonantal cluster žd signifies that this particular prefix is of OCS origin. Its Russian synonym is MEŽ-.

<sup>18</sup>This prefix is of limited usage in adjectives and adverbs, in the formation of the superlative degree.

<sup>19</sup>The NE + BEZ- combination is the most numerous group of three-prefixal morpheme formations.

<sup>20</sup>It is generally believed that the prefix Z- is perhaps a Polish borrowing (DOZVÓLIT', POZVÓLIT'). Cf. M. Vasmer, Étimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka, trans. from the German (Moskva: Progress, 1964).

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Note 12 above.

<sup>22</sup>PO- in the adverbs PO-DÉTSKI, PO-LÉTNEMU, etc., is also considered to be a prefix.

<sup>23</sup>The prefixal reduplication of the prefix PO- has been found in the word POPÓMNIT' "to remember", pf., coll., which is synonymous with both PÓMNIT' and VSPÓMNIT'. Another word is POPÓTČEVAT' "to entertain, treat", pf., coll., where the additional prefix PO- serves as a formant of the perfective aspect, PÓTČEVAT' being the impf. form. A third word is POPÓŠTOVAT', pf., coll., a synonym of POPÓTČEVAT'.

Compare the following interesting comment regarding reduplication in a language system: "Reduplication, i.e. repetition of the whole lexeme, or part of it, belongs among the most primitive morphemes. . . .

"Reduplication as a lexical or stylistic instrument (cf. e.g. words like p a p a, t i c k - t a c k, . . .) occurs to a smaller or greater extent in all languages. . . ." Valter Taulli, Structural Tendencies of Languages. I. General Tendencies (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy Helsinki, 1958), p. 137.

<sup>24</sup>V. V. Lopatin "Ob imennomn prefixe PRA- v russkom jazyke," Issledovanija po istoričeskoj leksikologii drevne-russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Nauka, 1964), pp. 245-259.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Note 23 above.

<sup>26</sup>When not stressed, both prefixes PRE- and PRI- are pronounced the same [pr'i]. The above prefixes have their orthographic equivalents in foreign [-R] prefixes or words: PRESTÍŽ, PREZÍDIUM, PREZIDÉNT, PRIORITÉT, PRIVILÉGIJA, PRIMADÓNNA, etc.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Note 17 above.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Note 26 above.

<sup>29</sup>The prefix RÓZ- (RÓS-) is of OR origin, while RAZ- (RAS-) is of OCS origin. The former is always stressed while the latter is never stressed.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Note 29 above.

<sup>31</sup>The prefixal form YS- represents the case where the first prefixal morpheme's hard vowel and the assimilation process have changed both segments of the original prefixal morpheme IZ-.

<sup>32</sup>For pronunciation of o-variant SO- in some noun formations see: E. I. Golanova "O fonetičeskoj xarakteristike pristavki so-," Razvitie fonetiki sovremennogo russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Nauka, 1971), pp. 236-242.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Note 14 above.

<sup>34</sup>The Latin prefix SUB- and the Russian prefix POD- have the same meaning "under, below." This duplication of meaning is found in the following two words: SUBPODRJÁDNYJ, SUBPODRJÁDČIK.

<sup>35</sup>Prefixal word-formation is elaborated in: Akademiya nauk SSSR, Institut russkogo jazyka, Grammatika russkogo jazyka, Tom I, Fonetika i morfoloģija (Moskva: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1960), pp. 235-249, 354-361, 433-434.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. A. N. Barykina, et al., Sbornik upražnenij po glagol'nyġ pristavkam (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo modkovskogo universiteta, 1969).

Potixa (1970), "Pristavki v imenax suščestvitel'nyx," pp. 260-265; "Pristavki imen prilagatel'nyx," pp. 310-320; "Glagol'nye pristavki," pp. 333-343.

<sup>37</sup>Prefixation is also used in the formation of place names like PODMOSKÓV'JE, ZAMOSKÓV'JE, etc., and in the formation of Russian surnames such as BEZÚXIJ, BEZÚXOV, OBDIRÁNSKIJ, PODDÚBENSKIJ, PRIÉZŽEV, etc.

<sup>38</sup>Potixa (1970), p. 38, writes: "Zamečeno, čto naj-boleee aktivno prinimajut pristavku iskonno glagol'nye osnovy. Glagoly že, obrazovannye ot suščestvitel'nyx i prilagatel'nyx, značitel'no boleee 'sderžany' v prisojedenenii k sebe pristavok."

<sup>39</sup>For a discussion of aspect-formation and aspect-formative prefixes see the following works: V. V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk — Grammatičeskoe učenie o slove (Moskva: Vysšaja škola, 1972), pp. 419-424; E. A. Zamskaja, "Tipy odnovidnyx pristavočnyx glagolov v sovremennom russkom jazyke," — Issledovanija po grammatike russkogo literaturnogo jazyka. Sbornik statej (Moskva: Akademiya nauk SSSR,

1955), pp. 5-41; Akademija nauk SSSR (1960), pp. 253-292; A. A. Vilgelminina (1963), pp. 33-40, 44-49, and 52-71, gives the basic description of aspect-formative prefixes.

<sup>40</sup>In the case of double prefixation (i.e. when there is a lowering involved in the first prefixal morpheme as in UR #su+otu+nes+ti# → IR #so+ot+nes+ti#), the inventory includes the vowel, consonant or consonant cluster of the following prefixal morpheme (i.e. o from #otu#), instead of the root morpheme (n from #nes#).

The segment n in the parenthesis belongs to the following suffixal morpheme.

See also Note 2 above.

<sup>41</sup>This procedure, of listing syllabic root morphemes without indicating the vowel involved or some sort of vowel deletion sign, follows the practice of presentation in Russian linguistic works.

<sup>42</sup>For root morpheme examples regarding the particular initial consonant or consonant cluster see section 2.2 in this chapter.

## CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS AND DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES —  
DYNAMIC CHARACTERISTICS3.0 Introduction

Word-formation involving prefixes is one of the areas of linguistic research where the application of the latest methods from the field of generative grammar can provide the framework necessary for yielding additional information concerning the phonological structure of the various prefixal variant forms.

In the following phonological analysis of Russian prefixes, the relevant data have been presented as sequences of the essential prefixal o-variant and root morpheme segments, fundamental to the analysis of prefixal patterns and derivations.

A principal objective of this analysis has been to identify all those particular underlying root morpheme structures, namely, the initial consonant clusters and the internal vowel segments of the root morpheme, which bring about the lowering of the final prefixal underlying segment u to o. In other words, the purpose is to establish those segments of the root morpheme which, on the assumption that the underlying structure of the roots has a major role in creating the phonetic forms of the prefixal morpheme



constituents, determine the phonetic structuring of the prefixal o-variant morphemes.

To account for the prefixal o-variant morphemes it is necessary to apply the (V-LOWER) rule,<sup>1</sup> within the phonological environments established, to each o-variant form in each particular environmental group.

The phonological analysis of the prefixal and root morpheme data has been carried out in three stages:

1) In the selected representative morphemic constructions the most suitable UR's have been posited for both prefixal and root morphemes;

2) The data of the prefixal o-variant morphemes have been subdivided into appropriate environmental groups according to the underlying structural features of the root morphemes, that is, those features which determine the phonological structure of each environmental group; and,

3) In each environmental group, the UR's of the prefixal o-variants and their corresponding roots have been made to undergo the appropriate phonological rules, including the (V-LOWER) rule, until the final IR of each prefixal and root morpheme has been derived. It will be shown that in each environmental group the lowering of u to o in the prefixal morpheme has been triggered by different post-prefixal phonological environments. By the application of the relevant phonological rules, UR's of prefixal and root

morpheme constituents have been gradually modified until the near-to-surface (or very broad) representations (IR's) have been produced.<sup>2</sup>

The underlying representations posited in this study are abstract forms of prefixal and root morphemes posited as the phonological components of the words under analysis.

As can be seen from the inventory of underlying segments, hard (non-palatalized) consonants have been posited as the basic ones, while the softened (palatalized) consonantal segments have been derived by the application of the phonological palatalization rules ( $C \rightarrow C'$ ) and ( $CC' \rightarrow C'C'$ ). In UR's the symbols of a front vowel ( $\ddot{V}$ ) and jot (j) have been given in the position following the roots, to show where the softening of the preceding consonants originates.

As used here, the IR shows the final form in the derivational process to which the appropriate later rules, such as final devoicing, voicing assimilation, akan'e,<sup>3</sup> ikan'e, and other rules essential for the derivation of the narrow phonetic form, have not yet applied. Furthermore, the distinction between short and long vocalic features in the IR's has not been eliminated. The initial suffixal segments, following the root morpheme, have been incorporated only in those cases where they have a direct bearing on the phonological changes in the root morpheme.

In spite of the large number of prefixal o-variants which follow a specific environmental pattern, there are also some variants with idiosyncracies which, in a completely identical environment, drop the final prefixal segment a instead of lowering it.

There are also many exceptional prefixal o-variant forms in which the prefixal jer has been lowered, although, in the majority of cases and in the same environment, the same jer has been regularly dropped. In the above exceptional cases the environment represents such a variety of root segments that it is impossible to generalize their environment. Therefore, they are listed separately in Chapter IV.

The general environments are further subdivided and each particular environment (or its subgroups<sup>4</sup>) of the root morpheme is formally described. With the exclusion of those exceptional cases, lacking some sort of common denominator, the description of the main body of data will involve a finite number of environments. These environments are designated as First Environment and Second Environment.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these two environments, there is also a substantial number of irregular forms recorded as a group of non-phonologically motivated o-variants.

In the introductory statement regarding each set of data sharing the same environment, the characteristic segment

or string of segments has been expressed in feature notation.

At the beginning of each environmental group, the first few forms are usually fully derived by the application of the appropriate phonological rules.<sup>6</sup> The derivations of the remaining examples sharing the same environment are stated in an abbreviated fashion by positing only their UR's and the resulting IR's.<sup>7</sup> In each example it is always the first Russian word given that has been derived, fully or in an abbreviated form.

Following each representative example thus derived, there is a summary of all prefixal variants under consideration (starting with the o-variants) attested in the sources of this study as prefixes attached to the same root morpheme.

In the OCS, OR, and CS examples cited, jers (ĭ, ŭ) and jat' (ě) have been identified with diacritical marks, while the other vowels have been left unmarked.

Wherever possible, additional related words, with or without a prefix (OTGORÉT', GORÉT'), are given to supplement the examples considered (OTOGRÉT'). Such comparison of words shows the dropping of the vowel in the root morpheme of one word and lowering in the other. As a result, the alternating pairs are usually realized as ø ~ o, ø ~ e, ø ~ i, and ø ~ a (OTOGRÉT' ~ OTGORÉT', SOZRÉT' ~ ZERNÓ, VZODRÁT' ~ VZDIRÁT', OBOŽNÚ ~ ŽÁT').

### 3.1 The First Environment of the Lower Rule

In the First Environment the Lower Rule applies in all those situations in which the underlying representation of the root morpheme contains the initial sequence: consonant-short vowel-consonant, the vowel being one of the two high, lax segments, that is, back u or front i. The o-variant prefixal morphemes preceding the above root morphemes require the application of the (V-LOWER) rule, which lowers the final back vowel in the prefixal morpheme and subsequently provides the structural environment for the application of the (V-DROP) rule in the root morpheme.

The group of words, to which the Lower Rule in the First Environment is applied, is numerically the largest as far as the derivation of the prefixal o-variant morphemes is concerned.

The First Environment of the Lower Rule is formulated as follows:

$$(V-LOWER) \quad u \longrightarrow o / C \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } + C_1 V$$

The corresponding feature specifications of the above rule are:

$$(V-LOWER) \quad \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -tense \\ +high \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-high] / [+C] \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } + [+C]_1 \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -tense \\ +high \\ -long \end{bmatrix}$$

The derivations of the prefixal o-variant forms

belonging to this environment are illustrated, developed and commented on in the examples which follow.

- 1) VOBRÁT' "to absorb, drink, suck in", pf.; VBIRÁT',<sup>8</sup> impf.  
cf. OR: beremja "burden", noun; OCS: bīrati<sup>9</sup> "to gather"

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>imperfective</u>
UR:	# wu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# wu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(DI-TENSING):	-	$\bar{i}$
(w $\rightarrow$ v):	v	v
(C $\rightarrow$ C'):	b'	b'
(V-LOWER):	o	-
(V-DROP):	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
(C'C $\rightarrow$ CC):	b	-
IR:	# vo + b r + ... #	# v + b'ir + ... # <sup>10</sup>

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VZO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO-

b) \*V + BR-<sup>11</sup> form not listed

Other prefixal variants listed under a) are developed and discussed below.

- 2) OBOBRÁT' "to pick, gather", pf., coll.; OBIRÁT', impf.

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>imperfective</u>
UR:	# obu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# o + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(DI-TENSING):	-	$\bar{i}$
(C $\rightarrow$ C'):	b'	b'
(V-LOWER):	o	-
(V-DROP):	$\emptyset$	
(C'C $\rightarrow$ CC):	b	-
IR:	# obo + b r + ... #	# o + b' $\bar{i}$ r + ... #

## Summary:

- a) o-variant list same as under 1/a
- b) \*OB + BR- form not listed

## 3) OTOBRÁT' "to take away, select", pf.; OTBIRÁT', impf.

UR:	# otu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... # $\rightarrow$ IR: # oto + br + ... #
UR:	# otu + bir + ... # $\rightarrow$ IR: # ot + b' $\bar{i}$ r + ... # <sup>12</sup>

## Summary:

- a) list same as under 1/a
- b) \*OT + BR- (< #bir#) form not listed

## 4) PODOBRÁT' "to pick up, select", pf.; PODBIRÁT', impf.

UR:	# podu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... # $\rightarrow$ IR: # podo + br + ... #
UR:	# podu + bir + ... # $\rightarrow$ IR: # pod + b' $\bar{i}$ r + ... # <sup>13</sup>

## Summary:

- a) list same as under 1/a

b) \*POD + BR- (<#bir#) form not listed

5) RAZOBRÁT' "to take, buy up, strip", pf.: RAZBIRÁT', impf.

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>imperfective</u>
UR:	# orzu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# orzu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(V-GEM):	oo	oo
(VV $\longrightarrow$ $\bar{V}$ ) [-R]:	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{o}$
(METATH) [-R]:	r $\bar{o}$	r $\bar{o}$
(DI-TENSING):	-	$\bar{i}$
(UNROUND):	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$
(C $\longrightarrow$ C'):	b'	b'
(V-LOWER):	o	-
(V-DROP):	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
(C'C $\longrightarrow$ CC):	b	-
(CC' $\longrightarrow$ C'C'):	-	z'
IR:	# rāzo + b r + ... #	# rāz' + b'īr + ... #

Summary:

a) list same as under 1/a

b) \*RAZ + BR- (<#bir#) form not listed



6) SOBRÁT' "to gather, collect", pf.: SBIRÁT', pf., obs. and coll., also SOBIRÁT', impf., modern usage, idiosyncratic form

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>impf.-obs.</u>	<u>impf.-idiosyn.</u>
UR:	#su+bir+V̄...#	#su+bir+V̄...#	#su+bir+V̄...#
(DI-TENSING):	-	ī	ī
(C → C'):	b'	b'	b'
(V-LOWER):	o	-	o
(V-DROP):	∅	∅	
(C'C → CC):	b	-	-
(CC' → C'C'); -		s'	-
IR:	#so+br+...#	#s'+b'īr+...#	#so+b'īr+...#

Summary:

- a) list same as under 1/a
- b) \*S + BR- (< #bir#) form not listed

Idiosyncratic forms: SOBIRÁT', SOBÓR, SOBÓROVAT'.

SBÓR "collection, tax, duty" — SOBÓR<sup>14</sup> "cathedral, council, synod"; the two forms coexist on account of different meaning.

7) VZOBĚRÁT'SJA "to climb, climb up", pf.; VZBIRÁT'SJA, impf.

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>imperfective</u>
UR:	# wuzu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# wuzu + bir + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(DI-TENSING):	-	$\bar{I}$
(w $\rightarrow$ v):	v	v
(C $\rightarrow$ C'):	b'	b'
(V-LOWER):	o	-
(V-DROP):	$\emptyset$ $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ $\emptyset$
(C'C $\rightarrow$ CC):	b	-
IR:	# vzo + br ... #	# vz' + b' $\bar{I}$ r + ... # <sup>15</sup>

Summary:

a) list same as under 1/a

b) \*VZ + BR- (<#bir#) form not listed; however,  
cf. IZ- (-BRÁT')<sup>16</sup>

8) VOVNÉ<sup>17</sup> "outside", adv.

UR:      # wu + wun +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\rightarrow$  IR: # vo + vn' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants IZ-

9) IZOVRÁT'SJA "to become a hardened liar", pf., coll.

cf. IZVRATÍT' "to pervert, misinterpret", pf.; IZVRAŠČÁT',  
impf.; RAZVRÁT "corruption, perversity", noun

UR: #īzu + wir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # īzo + vr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- RAZ-

10) RAZOVRÁT'SJA "to be a passionate liar", pf., coll.;

RAZVIRÁT'SJA, impf.

cf. RAZVRATÍT' "to corrupt", pf.: RAZVRAŠČÁT', impf.;

RAZVRÁTNIK "debauchee, libertine", noun

UR: # orzu + wir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # razo + vr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- RAZ-

Note the differences between prefixal variants in  
IZOVRÁT'SJA – RAZOVRÁT'SJA and IZVRATÍT' – RAZVRATÍT', which  
are apparently due to different underlying root morphemes:  
the first root morpheme (IZOVRÁT'SJA) with the underlying  
jer i, and the second form (IZVRATÍT') of OCS origin.

11) SOVRÁT' "to lie", pf.; VRÁT', impf.

UR: # su + wir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + vr + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- RAZO- SO-b) other listed variants: IZ- RAZ-12) VÓVSE<sup>18</sup> "quite", adv., coll.

VOVSJÚ "to the utmost extent", adv., coll.

UR: # wu + wis + V̈ ... # → IR: # vo + v's' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OTO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

Prefixal o-variant morphemes in the forms VOVNÉ and VÓVSE may also be derived by the application of the Lower Rule in the environment of two identical initial consonants, that is, in all those examples in which the root morpheme begins with a cluster of two consonants of which the initial one is identical with the prefixal morpheme-initial consonant. It seems that in this way two identical consonants are kept apart whenever there is a sequence of three consonants, the first two being identical.

13) SOVSÉM "quite, entirely", adv.

UR: # su + wis + V̈ ... # → IR: # so + v's' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OTO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

14) OTOVSJÚDU "from everywhere", adv.

UR: # otu + wis +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # oto + v's' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OTO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

15) OBOVŠÍVET' "to become lousy", pf; VŠÍVET', impf.

UR: # obu + wux +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + vš + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO-

b) other variants not listed

16) VOGNÁT' "to drive in", pf.; VGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # wu + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + gn + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- IZ-

This pattern of behavior also applies to the following pairs of verbs:

17) OBOGNÁT' "to outrun, leave behind", pf.; OBGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + gn + ... #

18) OTOGNÁT' "to drive away, fight back", pf.; OTGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # otu + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # oto + gn + ... #

19) PODOGNÁT' "to drive on, adjust", pf.; PODGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # podu + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # podo + gn + ... #

20) RAZOGNÁT' "to drive away, disperse", pf.; RAZGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # orzu + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # rāzo + gn + ... #

21) SOGNÁT' "to drive away/together", pf.; SGONJÁT', impf.

UR: # su + gun +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + gn + ... #

22) VOGNÚT' "to curve/bend inwards", pf.; VGIBÁT', impf.

UR: #wu + gub + n + ou + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #vo + g + n +  $\bar{u}$  + ...#

UR: # wu + gub +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # v + g'īb + ... #

In the perfective form, first example, the (C  $\longrightarrow$   $\emptyset$ ) and (V-DROP) rules reduce the root morpheme in the IR to a single segment # g #.

#### Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: SU- (-GUBYJ)

The above summary also applies to the following related underlying representations of the root morpheme:

23) IZOGNÚT' "to bend, curve", pf.; IZGIBÁT', impf.

UR: #īzu + gub + n + ou + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #īzo + g + n + u + ...#

- 24) NADOGNÚT' "to bend/curve slightly", pf.; NADGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #nōdu + gub + n + ou +...# → IR: #nādo + g + n + ū +...#
- 25) OBOGNÚT' "to round, skirt", pf.; OGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #obu + gub + n + ou +...# → IR: #obo + g + n + ū +...#
- 26) OTOGNÚT' "to unbend, turn back", pf.; OTGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #otu + gub + n + ou +...# → IR: #oto + g + n + ū +...#
- 27) PODOGNÚT' "to tuck in, bend", pf.; PODGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #podu + gub + n + ou +...# → IR: #podo + g + n + ū +...#
- 28) RAZOGNÚT' "to unbend, straighten", pf.; RAZGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #orzu + gub + n + ou +...# → IR: #rāzo + g + n + ū +...#
- 29) SOGNÚT' "to bend, bow", pf.; SGIBÁT', impf.  
 UR: #su + gub + n + ou + ...# → IR: #so + g + n + ū + ...#
- 30) OBOGRÉT'<sup>19</sup> "to warm oneself", pf.; OBOGREVÁT', impf.  
 cf. GORÉT' "to burn"  
 OBOGRÉT' "to be scorched, burned around", pf.;  
 OBOGRÁT', impf.  
 UR: # obu + gur +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + gr' + ... #

#### Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: VZ-

Other typical prefixal o-variant morphemes of this

root morpheme include:

31) OTOGRÉT' "to warm oneself", pf.; OTOGREVÁT', impf.

cf. OTGORÉT' "to burn out", pf.; OTGORÁT', impf.

UR: # otu + gur +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # oto + gr' + ... #

32) PODOGRÉT' "to warm up", pf.; PODOGREVÁT', impf.

cf. PODGORÉT' "to be a little burnt", pf.;

PODGORÁT', impf.

UR: # podu + gur +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # podo + gr' + ... #

33) RAZOGRÉT' "to warm up", pf.; RAZOGREVÁT', impf.

cf. RAZGORÉT'SJA "to flame/flare up", pf.;

RAZGORÁT'SJA, impf.

UR: # orzu + gur +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # rāzo + gr' + ... #

34) SOGRÉT' "to warm, heat", pf.; SOGREVÁT', impf.

cf. SGORÉT' "to burn down", pf.; SGORÁT', impf.

UR: # su + gur +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + gr' + ... #

35) OBODNJÁT' "to dawn", pf.; OBODNEVÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + din +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + d'n' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-DNEVÁT')



36) VZODRÁT' "to raise, lift up with effort", pf., coll.;  
VZDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # wuzu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vzo + dr + ... #

UR: # wuzu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vz' + d'īr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VZO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO-  
RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

Additional examples of prefixal o-variants listed in  
the above summary are developed below:

37) IZODRÁT' "to rend, tear (in several places, to pieces)",  
pf.; IZDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # īzu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # īzo + dr + ... #

UR: # īzu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # īz' + d'īr + ... #

38) NADODRÁT' "to tear slightly", pf.; NADDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # nōdu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # nādo + dr + ... #

UR: # nōdu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # nād + d'īr + ... #

39) OBODRÁT' "to tear, skin, peel", pf.; OBDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + dr + ... #

40) OTODRÁT' "to tear/rip off", pf.; OTDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # otu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # oto + dr + ... #

41) RAZODRÁT' "to tear up", pf.; RAZDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # orzu + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # rāzo + dr + ... #

42) SODRÁT' "to strip, skin", pf.; SDIRÁT', impf.

UR: # su + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + dr + ... #

UR: # su + dir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # s' + d'ir + ... #

43) OBOŽDÁT' "to wait (for a while)", pf., coll. (=PODOŽDÁT')

PODOŽDÁT' "to wait (for a while)", pf.; PODŽIDÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + gid +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + žd + ... #

UR: # podu + gid +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # podo + žd + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- PODO-

b) other listed variants: POD-

44) SOŽŽÉNIE "burning, cremation", noun

IZOŽŽĚNNYJ "burnt all over", p.p.p.; IZŽĚGŠIJ, p.p.a.

cf. also idiosyncratic form SOŽIGÁT', impf., obs., and

SŽIGÁT', impf. modern usage; SŽÉČ', pf. (<SOŽGÚ, 1st

p. sg.)

UR: # su + gig +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + žž + ... #

UR: # ĭzu + gig +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # ĭzo + žž + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- (-ŽŽĚNNYJ)

- 45) VOŽMÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (<VŽÁT' "press/drive in", pf.; VŽIMÁT', impf.)

UR: # wu + gim +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + žm + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

The infinitive forms are: VŽÁT', OBŽÁT', OTŽÁT', PODŽÁT', RAZŽÁT', and SŽÁT'.

- 46) SOŽMÚRIT' "to blink", pf.; SOŽMÚRIVAT', impf.

cf. MIGNÚT', pf.; MIGÁT', impf.

cf. also SMEŽÍT' "close one's eyes", pf., obs.;

SMEŽÁT', impf.

UR: # su + gim + our + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + žm +  $\bar{u}r$  + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

- 47) OBOŽNÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (<OBŽÁT' "to reap cereals all over/around", pf.; OBŽINÁT', impf.)

ŽÁT' "to reap, harvest", inf.

UR: # obu + gin +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + žn + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- OTO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

48) OBOŽRÁT' "to guzzle, overeat", pf., vulg.; OBŽIRÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + gir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + žr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

49) OBOZVÁT' "to call/name", pf., coll.; OBZYVÁT', impf.

UR: # obu + zuw +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + zv + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- OTO- PODO- SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ-

Idiosyncratic forms: SO- (-ZYVÁT'), SO- (-ZÝV)

50) SOZVÁT' "to invite, call, summon", pf.; SZYVÁT' and SOZYVÁT', impf.

cf. OBOZVÁL, m., past tense (< OBOZVÁT'; cf. example No.

49), but OBZOVÚ, 1st p. sg. of the pf. future tense

UR: # su + zuw +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + zv + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- (-ZVÁT')

51) SOZDÁT' "to create", pf.; SOZDAVÁT' and SOZIDÁT' (high style), impf.

cf. also SOZDÁNIE and SOZÍDANIE (high style), nouns

UR: # su + zid +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + zd + ... #

UR: # su + zid +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + z'íd + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

52) OBOZLÍT' "to embitter", pf.

cf. ZÓL "wicked", adj., short form

UR: # obu + zul +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + z'l' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- RAZO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-ZLÓBIE)

53) OBOZRÉT' "to survey, look around", pf.; OBOZREVÁT', impf., and also OBZIRÁT', impf., obs.

PODOZREVÁT' "to suspect", impf.

UR: # obu + zir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + z'r' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- PODO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- (-ZRÉT')

54) SOZRÉT' "to ripen, mature", pf.; SOZREVÁT' (=ZRÉT'), impf.

cf. ZERNÓ "grain", noun

UR: # su + zir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + z'r' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

The prefixal high, lax, back vowel u in the derived forms of the root morpheme J (UR: #jid#), in the infinitive forms of the following verb, also lowers to o by the application of the above rule.

55) VOJTÍ "to enter", pf.

OR: iti, (1st p. sg.: idu) "to go"

UR: # wu + jid + tī #

(w  $\longrightarrow$  v): v

(C  $\longrightarrow$  C'): t'

(C  $\longrightarrow$  ∅): ∅

(V-LOWER): o

(V-DROP): ∅

IR: # vo + j + t'ī #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VZO- IZO- NIZO- OBO- OTO-  
PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also SOŠLÁ, pf. tense, 3rd p. sg., f., and idiosyncratic form SOŠĚL, pf. tense, 3rd p. sg., m.

Note the insertion of the segment n or hard sign (") in the remaining cases where the segment j follows the prefixal morpheme, such as OBNJÁT', OTNJÁT', IZ"JÁT', and RAZ"JÁT'.

56) VOL'GÓTNOST' "freedom", noun, coll.

cf. L'GÓTA "advantage, privilege", noun

POLEGČÁT' "to abate", pf., coll.

UR: # wu + lig + V ... # → IR: # vo + l'g + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

57) OBOLGÁT' "to slander", pf.; OBLYGÁT', impf.

IZOLGÁT'SJA "to become an inveterate/incorrigible/hardened liar", pf.

UR: # obu + lug +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + lg + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- OBO- OTO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

58) OBOL'STÍT' "to seduce", pf.; OBOL'SČÁT', impf.

cf. LÉST' "flattery", noun

UR: #obu + list +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + l's't' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- PODO-

b) other variants not listed

59) OTOMKNÚT' "to unlock, unbolt", pf.; OTMYKÁT', impf.

UR: #otu + muk + n + ou + ...# → #oto + mk + n +  $\bar{u}$  + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OTO- RAZO- SO- VO- (-MČÁT')

b) other variants not listed

60) OBOMLÉT' "to be stupefied/frozen with terror", pf., coll.;  
OBOMLEVÁT', impf.

cf. MÓLNIJA "lightning", noun

UR: # obu + mul +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + ml' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed



61) VOZOMNÍT' "to become conceited", pf.; VOZOMNJÁT', impf.

cf. SOMNÉNIE "doubt", noun

	<u>perfective verb</u>	<u>noun</u>
UR:	# wuzu + min + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# su + min + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(w $\longrightarrow$ v):	v	-
(C $\longrightarrow$ C'):	m'n'	m'n'
(V-LOWER):	o o	o
(V-DROP):	ø	ø
IR:	# vozo + m'n' + ... #	# so + m'n' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VOZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

62) VOMNÚ "I shall/will push/squeeze", present, 1st p. sg.

(< MJÁT', impf.)

UR: # wu + min +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + mn + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- IZO- OBO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

63) SOMNÓŽITEL' "factor", noun, math. term

UR: # su + munog +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + množ + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: RAZ- (-MNOŽÁT')

- 64) OBOMRÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (<OBMERÉT' "to faint", pf., coll.); OTOMRĚT, present, 1st p. sg. (<OTMERÉT' "to die off", pf.)

UR: # obu + mir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + mr + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- OTO-

b) other variants not listed

- 65) OTOMSTÍT' "to revenge oneself, take vengeance", pf.;  
MSTÍT', impf.  
OTMSTÍT',<sup>20</sup> pf., obs. is also found as a coexistent pf.  
form; cf. MÉST' "vengeance, revenge", noun

UR: # otu + mist +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # oto + m's't' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OTO-b) other listed variants: OT- (-MSTÍT', -MŠČÁT')

- 66) OBOMŠÉT' "to get covered with moss", pf.

cf. MÓX "moss", noun

UR: # obu + mux +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # obo + mš + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: OBO-
- b) other variants not listed

67) VOMČÁT' "to drive/run up with speed", pf.; MČÁT', impf.

cf. MÝKAT'SJA "to wander, stray", impf.

UR: # wu + muk +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + mč' + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: VO- SO-
- b) other variants not listed

See also OTOMKNÚT', example No. 59) above

68) VONZÍT' "to stick, pierce, thrust", pf.; VONZÁT', impf.

cf. ZANÓZA "splinter"; NÓŽ "knife", nouns

UR: # wu + niz +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + n'z' + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: VO-
- b) other variants not listed

69) RAZONRÁVIT'SJA "to stop liking/pleasing", impf.

NÓROV "habit", noun, obs.

OR: nŕravŭ "disposition, habit", noun

UR: # orzu + nurōw +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # rāzo + nrāv' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: RAZO-b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-NRÁVSTVENNOST')

70) VOPNÚT' "to shove/push in", pf., coll.; VPINÁT', impf.

UR: # wu + pin + ou + ... # → IR: # vo + pn + ū + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

71) VOPRÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (&lt;VPERÉT' "to push with difficulty", pf.)

UR: # wu + pir + V ... # → IR: # vo + pr + ... #

a) listed o-variants: VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-  
(-PRÚ, -PÉRNIČAT')

b) other variants not listed

72) PODOPRÉT' "to begin to rot", pf.; PODOPREVÁT' and also  
PODPREVÁT', impf.

cf. PÁR "steam", noun

UR: # podu + pir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # podo + p'r' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VZO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-b) other listed variants: POD- (-PREVÁT')

73) IZORVÁT' "to tear to pieces", pf.; IZRYVÁT', impf.

UR: # ĭzu + ruw +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # ĭzo + rv + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VZO- VO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO-  
PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

74) SORTÚČKA "amalgam", noun

UR: # su + rut + V ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + rt + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

75) OTOSLÁT' "to send away/off", pf.; OTSYLÁT', impf.

UR: # otu + sul +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # oto + sl + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

76) OTOSPÁT' "to sleep, have a long sleep", pf.; OTSYPÁT',  
impf.

RAZOSPÁT'SJA "to be fast asleep, oversleep", pf., coll.

SOSNÚT' "to take/have a nap", pf., coll.

UR: # otu + sup +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # oto + sp + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OTO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

77) PODOSPÉT' "to arrive/come in time", pf., coll.

UR: # podu + sup +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # podo + s'p' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: PODO-

b) other variants not listed

78) PODOSTLÁT' "to stretch/lay under", pf.;

PODSTILÁT' and PODSTELÍT', impf.

cf. STÍL'ŠČIK "laborer who spreads out something", noun

UR: # podu + stil +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # podo + stl + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: IZO- PODO- RAZO-

b) other variants not listed

79) VOTKÁT' "to interweave", pf.

cf. OCS, OR: tŭkati "to weave"

UR: # su + tuk +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + tk + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- IZO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

80) VOTKNŮT' "to stick/drive in", pf.; VTYKÁT', impf.

cf. OCS, OR: tŭkati "to weave"

UR: #wu + tuk + n + ou + ...# → IR: #vo + tk + n + ū ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OTO- PODO- SO-

b) other listed variants: SŮ- (-TKI)

81) SOTLĚT' "to rot, decay", pf.; SOTLEVÁT', impf.

OR: tĭlěti; OCS: tŭlěti "to decay"

UR: #su + til +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: #so + t'l' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: IS- RAS-

82) VOTRŮ, present, 1st p. sg. (<VTERĚT' "to rub in/into", pf.; VTIRÁT', impf.)

UR: #wu + tir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: #vo + tr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO-

b) other variants not listed

83) VOTŠČĚ "in vain, adv., poet., obs.

cf. TŠČETÁ "vanity", noun, obs.

TÓŠČIJ "empty, skinny", adj.

OR: tůšči; OCS: tůštī "empty", adj.

UR: # wu + tusk +  $\bar{V}$  + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + t's'č' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

84) RAZOČTŮ, present, 1st p. sg. (< RASČĚST' "to calculate, estimate", pf., coll.)

OBOČTŮ, present, 1st p. sg. (< OBČĚST' "to miscalculate", pf., coll.)

SOČLÁ, f., past sg.; SOČLÓ, n., past sg. (< SČĚST' "to count", pf.)

UR: # orzu + kit + V ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # rāzo + č't + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

cf. also SOSČITÁT', SOPRIČĚST'



85) PODÓŠVA "sole", noun

cf. PODŠÍT' "to sew underneath, to sole", pf.;

PODŠIVÁT', impf.;

and ŠÓV "stitch, seam", ŠVEJÁ "seamstress", nouns

UR: # podu + xiw +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # podo + šv + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: PODO-

b) other variants not listed

### 3.1.1 Summary of Prefixal Variants

#### a) listed o-variants

- 1-7) VO- VZO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO-
- 8) VO-
- 9-11) IZO- RAZO- SO-
- 12-14) VO- OTO- SO-
- 15) OBO-
- 16-21) VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO-
- 22-29) VO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO-  
PODO- RAZO- SO-
- 30-34) OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-
- 35) OBO-
- 36-42) VZO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO-  
RAZO- SO-
- 43) OBO- PODO-
- 44) IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO-
- 45) VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO-
- 46) SO-
- 47) OBO- OTO- SO-
- 48) OBO- SO-

#### b) other listed variants

IZ-

IZ-

IZ- RAZ-

-

-

VOZ- IZ-

SU-

VZ-

OT-

-

POD-

VOZ-

-

-

-

-

49) OBO- OTO- PODO- SO-	VOZ-
50) SO-	VOZ-
51) SO-	-
52) OBO- RAZO-	BEZ-
53) OBO- PODO-	VOZ-
54) SO-	-
55) VO- VZO- IZO- NIZO- OBO-	
OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-	-
56) VO-	-
57) IZO- OBO- OTO- RAZO- SO-	-
58) OBO- PODO-	-
59) VO- OTO- RAZO- SO-	-
60) OBO- RAZO- SO-	-
61) VOZO- SO-	-
62) VO- IZO- OBO- PODO- RAZO-	
SO-	-
63) SO-	RAZ-
64) OBO- OTO-	-
65) OTO-	OT-
66) OBO-	-
67) VO- SO-	-
68) VO-	-
69) RAZO-	BEZ-
70) VO-	-

- 71) VO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO- -
- 72) VZO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO- POD-
- 73) VZO- VO- IZO- NADO- OBO-  
OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO- -
- 74) SO- -
- 75) OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO- -
- 76) OTO- RAZO- SO- -
- 77) PODO- -
- 78) IZO- PODO- RAZO- -
- 79) VO- IZO- PODO- RAZO- SO- -
- 80) VO- OTO- PODO- SO- SU-
- 81) SO- IS- RAS-
- 82) VO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO- -
- 83) VO- -
- 84) OBO- RAZO- SO- -
- 85) PODO- -

### 3.1.2 Perfective Verbs in First Environment Taking Prefixal O-Variant Morpheme in Conjugation

There are several prefixed perfective verbs in the Russian vocabulary which, when conjugated in both the singular and plural, take the prefixal o-variant morpheme. The following verbs belong to the above group:

<u>Root morpheme</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st p. sg.</u>
BI-	VBÍT'	VOB'JÚ
VI-	VZVÍT'	VZOV'JÚ
LI-	VLÍT'	VOL'JÚ
PI-	ISPÍT'	IZOP'JÚ
ŠI-	VŠÍT'	VOŠJÚ

The rule for lowering lax, high, back vowel u in the prefixal morphemes attached to the conjugated forms, in the singular and plural, is exactly the same as for the preceding group.

Some examples belonging to the present group are given in the derivations below.

1) VOB'JÚ, 1st p. sg. (<VBÍT' "to drive/hammer in",  
pf.)

UR: # wu + bij + ou #

(w → v): v

(C → C'): b'

(MONOPH): ū

(V-LOWER): o

(V-DROP): ø

IR: # vo + b'j + ū #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VZO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO-  
PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

2) IZOV'JÚ, 1st p. sg. (<IZVÍT' "to weave, twist",  
pf.)

UR: # ĭzu + wij + ou # → IR: # ĭzo + v'j + ū #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VZO- IZO- OBO- PODO- RAZO-  
SO-

b) other variants not listed

3) VOL'JÚ, 1st p. sg. (<VLÍT' "to pour in", pf.)

UR: # wu + lij + ou # → IR: # vo + l'j + ū #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VOZO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

4) IZOP'JÚ, 1st p. sg. (< ISPÍT' "to drink some quantity;  
 to drink to the end", pf.)

UR: # ĭzu + pij + ou # → IR: # ĭzo + p'j + ū #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VOZO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO-  
RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

5) SOŠ'JÚ, 1st p. sg. (< SŠÍT' "to sew together",  
 pf.)

UR: # su + xij + ou # → IR: # so + šj + ū #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- OBO- RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

### 3.1.3 Summary of Prefixal O-Variants in Conjugated Perfective Verbs

a) <u>listed o-variants</u>	b) <u>other listed variants</u>
1) VO- VZO- IZO- NADO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-	-
2) VO- VZO- IZO- OBO- PODO- RAZO- SO-	-
3) VO- VOZO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-	-
4) VO- VOZO- IZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-	-
5) VO- OBO- RAZO- SO-	-

### 3.1.4 Double Prefixed Words of the First Environment

Double prefixed words of the First Environment are found in the case of three successive morphemes — two prefixal morphemes and a root morpheme following them. Both prefixal morphemes end in a lax, high, underlying vowel segment u. This is the case in which the root morpheme is too far removed from the first prefixal morpheme to influence its phonological restructuring. Instead, it is the underlying structure of the second prefixal morpheme which creates the basic environment for lowering in the first prefixal morpheme.



The underlying segment u in the first prefixal morpheme is lowered to o, while the segment u in the second prefixal morpheme is dropped, that is, the rule is the same as for the First Environment.

The typical derivations, in full or abbreviated, of the above-described variants are developed below.

- 1) SOSVÓDNIČAT' "to pamper, pimp", pf., coll.; SVÓDNIČAT', impf.

UR: # su + su + wod +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

(w  $\longrightarrow$  v): v

(C  $\longrightarrow$  C'): d'

(V-LOWER): o -

(V-DROP): -  $\emptyset$

IR: # so + s + vod' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

- 2) SOSKÚČIT' "to be bored, weary", pf., obs.: SKUČÁT', impf.  
cf. SKÚKA "boredom", noun

UR: #su + su + kouk +  $\ddot{V}$  ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + s + kūč' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

3) SOVMESTÍT' "to combine", pf.; SOVMEŠČÁT', impf.

cf. SMESTÍT', pf.; SMEŠČÁT', impf.

VMESTÍT', pf.; VMEŠČÁT', impf.

	<u>SOVMESTÍT'</u>	<u>SMESTÍT'</u>
UR:	#su + wu + mēst + $\bar{V}$ ...#	#su + mēst + $\bar{V}$ ...#
(w → v):	v	
(C → C'):	m' t'	m' t'
(V-LOWER):	o	—
(V-DROP):	— ∅	∅
(CC' → C'C'):	— s'	s' s'
IR:	#so + v + m'ēs't' + ...#	#s' + m'ēs't' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

4) SOVPÁST' "to coincide, concur", pf.; SOVPADÁT', impf.

UR: #su + wu + pōd + t $\bar{V}$  + ...# → IR: #so + v + pās't' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

5) SOSTIRÁT' "to wash/wipe off/away", pf., coll.; SOSTÍRYVAT', impf.

cf. VOTRÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (< VTERÉT' "to rub in/into", pf.)

IZOTRÚ, present, 1st p. sg. (< ISTERÉT' "to grate", pf.)

TERÉT' "to rub, polish", impf.

UR: #su + su + t̄ir<sup>21</sup> + ...# → IR: #so + s' + t'īr + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- OT- (-STIRÁT')

6) SOSTYKÁT'<sup>22</sup> "to join, connect", pf.; SOSTYKOVÁT', impf.

cf. RASTYKÁT' "to disconnect", pf. and impf.

UR: #su + su + t̄uk<sup>23</sup> + V̄ ...# → IR: #so + s + t̄yk + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: RAS-

7) SOSTJAZÁT'SJA "to compete", impf.

cf. TJANÚT' "to pull, strive after", pf.; TJAGÁT', impf.

UR: #su + su + teng + V̄ ...# → IR: #so + s + t'az + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

8) SOSČITÁT' (=SČĚST') "to count", pf.; SČITÁT', impf.

cf. SOPRIČĚST' (=SOPRIČÍSLIT') "to add to", pf., obs.

OCS, OR: čītīcī "lector", noun

UR: #su + su + kīt<sup>24</sup> + ...# → IR: #so + s + č'īt + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- OT- POD- RAS-

Cf. also OBOČTÚ, RAZOČTÚ, SOČTÚ

### 3.1.5 Summary of Double Prefixed Words in the First Environment

a) listed o-variants

b) other listed variants

1) SO-

-

2) SO-

-

3) SO-

-

4) SO-

-

5) SO-

OB- OT-

6) SO-

RAS-

7) SO-

-

8) SO-

OB- OT- POD- RAS-

### 3.1.6 Concluding Remarks

The above summary of prefixal characteristics in front of root morphemes which dropped either front or back jer demonstrates the dominant pattern of prefixal o-variants in

the entire First Environment.

Within the corpus data of ninety-eight root morphemes presented, there is a total of 247 prefixal variants found to be attached to the listed root morphemes. From the above number of prefixal variants, 210 represent prefixal o-variants. Such a predominant number of identified o-variants in this environment confirms that the underlying representations of the root morphemes are well within the expected range for valid prediction.

The summary indicates minimal overlapping of regular prefixal variants, either as additional parallel forms, such as OT-, POD-, and RAZ-, or as idiosyncratic forms, such as BEZ-, VZ-, VOZ-, IZ- (IS-), OB-, OT-, POD-, RAZ- (RAS-). The most "consistent" prefixal o-variant is SO-, without a single case of regular (that is synonymous) doublet.

As regards the anticipated phonological behavior in the First Environment, the most uniform subclass is the group of conjugated perfective verbs. The prefixal o-variants in front of the above verbs are all regularly developed without a single anomaly.

The distribution of prefixal o-variants in the above summary provides an interesting parallel, namely, the predominance of SO- prefixal o-variant and the almost complete unproductivity of other o-variants.

The above statement can also be applied to the group of morphemes which, on account of a slightly different



The above three group environments can be expressed as one general environment representing and incorporating all three environments into one:

$$C^i \text{ \_\_\_\_ } + (CV)_{\text{prefix}} + (C) C^i (C).$$

The restriction is that one of the optional segments in the root (in the case of the second group also the additional intervening prefixal morpheme) has to be present in all of the above three group environments.

A discussion of each of the three groups of this environment follows.

### 3.2.1 The First Group

In the First Group of this environment the morpheme final, lax, high vowel u in the prefixal morpheme is lowered to o, if the following root morpheme begins with a consonant s which is identical to the consonant preceding the lax, high vowel u in the prefixal morpheme. For this group the rule is:

$$(V\text{-LOWER}) \quad u \longrightarrow o / C^i \text{ \_\_\_\_ } + C^i C,$$

where the superscript i indicates the identity of consonantal segments.

In terms of phonetic feature specifications, the above rule may be stated as follows:

$$(V\text{-LOWER}) \left[ \begin{array}{c} v \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [-\text{high}] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} c \\ -\text{voice} \\ +\text{strident} \end{array} \right]^i \text{---} + \left[ \begin{array}{c} c \\ +\text{voice} \\ +\text{strident} \end{array} \right]^i c,$$

where the initial consonants of the prefixal morpheme and the root morpheme are identical.

It seems reasonable to assume that in this way the language provides a way to keep two potentially initial identical consonants (at the beginning of a word) apart. This applies in all instance in which two such consonants are followed by a third consonant. In other words, a potential  $*c^i + c^i c$  consonant cluster word-initially always develops as  $c^i v + c^i c$  sequence.

Two such identical consonants are permitted in the grammar only if the third segment is a vowel ( $c^i + c^i v$ , as in VVESTÍ, SSELÍT', etc.).

The following examples illustrate the prefixal o-variant morphemes found in this group:

- 1) SOZVONÍT'SJA "to talk over (call up by) telephone", pf.,  
coll.; SOZVÁNIVAT'SJA, impf.

UR:	# su + zvon + $\bar{v}$ ... #	# su + zvon + $\bar{v}$ ... #
(DI-TENSING):	—	$\bar{o}$
(UNROUND):	—	$\bar{a}$
(w $\rightarrow$ v):	v	v
(C $\rightarrow$ C'):	n'	n'
(V-LOWER):	o	o
IR:	# so + zvon' + ... #	# so + zvān' + ... #



## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: OB- OT- RAZ-

It is interesting to observe that in the case of the initially voiced root consonant, combinations consisting of consonant cluster sequences \*szv and \*szn do not exist in the Russian language system and even the consonant sequence sz is very rare (SZADÍ, SZYVÁT'). The lowering of u to o in the above rule environment has been necessitated to ease the pronunciation.

## 2) SOZVÉZDIE "constellation", noun

UR: # su + zwēzd +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + z'v'ēz'd' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ- NAD- (-ZVĚZDNYJ)

## 3) SOZVUČÁT' "to make consonant", impf.

SOZVÚČIE "accord, consonance", noun

UR: #su + zwon + k +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + zvū + č' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ- OT-

4) SOZNÁT' "to be conscious, to realize", pf.; SOZNAVÁT',  
impf.

SOZNÁNIE "consciousness", noun

UR: # su + zn̄ + ... # → IR: # so + zn̄ + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO- SO-

b) other listed variants: RAZ- (-ZNAKÓMIT') PRED-  
(-ZNAMENOVÁT')

OBO- prefixal o-variant listed under a) is found in  
OBOZNÁT'SJA, pf.; OBOZNAVÁT'SJA, impf.

The remaining two root morphemes in the Russian vocabulary which begin with the consonantal sequence zn are ZNO (in ZNÓJ "intense heat") and ZNOB (in ZNOBÍT' "to feel feverish, shiver"). There is only one case of the prefixal morpheme BEZ- appended to the ZNO root morpheme (BEZZNÓJNYJ).

5) SOSVÁTAT' "to propose smb. to smb. as a wife/husband", pf.;  
SVÁTAT', impf..

UR: # su + sw̄t + ... #

(UNROUND) : ā

(w → v) : v

(V-LOWER) : o

IR: # so + sv̄t + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

6) SOSKOBLÍT' "to scrape off", pf.; SOSKÁBLIVAT', impf.

UR: # su + skob + ... # → IR: # so + skob + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- POD- (OTSKOBLÍT',  
PODSKOBLÍT')

In this and other similar examples, the segment ā in the imperfective aspects of the verbs is derived by the (DI-TENSING) rule, by which the underlying segment o in DI's changes to ā.

7) SOSKOČÍT' "to jump off/down", pf.; SOSKÁKIVAT', impf.

UR: # su + skok + ṽ ... # → IR: # so + skoč' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- OB- OT- POD-

8) SOSKOL'ZNÚT' "to slide down/off", pf.; SOSKÁL'ZYVAT', impf.

UR: #su + skuliz + n + ou +...#

→ IR: #so + skol'z + n + ū +...#

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: V- (VSKOL'ZNÚT')

9) SOSKREBÁT' "to scrape off", impf.; SOSKRESTÍ, pf.

UR: # su + skreb + ... # → IR: # so + skr'eb + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: OT- POD-10) SÓSLEPA<sup>25</sup> "owing to poor sight", adv.; also: SÓSLEPU

cf. OCS and OR: slěpŭ "blind", adj.

UR: # su + slēp + ... # → IR: # so + s'l'ēp + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: V- (VSLEPÚJU)

11) SOSLÓVIE "estate", noun

SOSLÓVNOST' "class distinction", noun

UR: # su + slow + ... # → IR: # so + slov + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

12) SOSTÁVIT' "to put together, compose", pf.;

SOSTAVLJÁT', impf.

SOSTÁV "composition", noun

cf. OR: sŭstavŭ "composition, structure", noun

UR: # su + stō + w + ... # → IR: # so + stā + v + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- OB- OT-

13) SOSTÁRIT' "to make/look old, age", pf.; STÁRIT', impf.

UR: # su + stōr +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + stār' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- IS- POD- RAS-

14) SOSTEGÁT' "to quilt", pf.; SOSTĚGIVAT', impf.

OR: tĵagati "to pull"

UR: # su + steg +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + s't'eg + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- POD-

15) SOSTRADÁT' "to be compassionate", impf.

UR: # su + strōd + ... # → IR: # so + strād + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BES- IS- OT-

16) SOSTRIGÁT' "to shear/clip off", impf. SOSTRÍČ', pf.

UR: # su + strig +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + str'ig + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- OT- POD-

17) SOSTRÓIT' "to build, construct", pf.; STRÓIT', impf.

UR: # su + stro + j + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + stro + j + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- NAD- OB- OT- POD- RAS-

18) SOŠČIPÁT' "to pluck", pf., coll.; SOŠČÍPYVAT', impf.

UR: # su + skīp + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + š'č'īp + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- OT- POD-

19) SOŠČÚRIT' "to screw up one's eyes", pf.; SOŠČÚRIVAT',  
impf., also ŠČURÍT', impf. (etymology not known)

UR: # su + skeur +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + š'č'ūr' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

### 3.2.2 Summary of the First Group

a) <u>listed o-variants</u>	b) <u>other listed variants</u>
1) SO-	OB- OT- RAZ-
2) SO-	BEZ- NAD-
3) SO-	BEZ- OT-
4) OBO- SO-	PRED- RAZ-
5) SO-	-
6) SO-	OT- POD-
7) SO-	V- OB- OT- POD-
8) SO-	V-
9) SO-	OT- POD-
10) SÓ-	V-
11) SO-	-
12) SO-	V- OB- OT-
13) SO-	V- IS- POD- RAS-
14) SO-	OT- POD-
15) SO-	BES- IS- OT-
16) SO-	OB- OT- POD-
17) SO-	V- NAD- OB- OT- POD- RAS-
18) SO-	OB- OT- POD-
19) SO-	-

### 3.2.3 Minor Exceptions to the First Group

There are some apparent exceptions of prefixal o-variant forms which also lower the final, high, lax, back

vowel u (if the initial root morpheme consonant is identical with the initial consonant of the prefixal morpheme), although the second segment of the root morpheme is a vowel rather than a consonant.

The following two examples, exhibiting the  $C^iVC^iV$  structural pattern, illustrate the derivation of prefixal o-variant morphemes which must be regarded as being different from the first group in not having the consonantal cluster at the beginning of the root. These two examples could be considered to be specially marked to undergo the (V-LOWER) rule. Otherwise, they could be grouped with the nonphonologically motivated examples given in Chapter IV.

1) SOSÉDIT' "to live in neighbourhood", pf., obs.;

SOSÉDSTVOVAT', impf.

UR: # su + sēd +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

(C → C'): s'd'

(V-LOWER): o

IR: # so + s'ēd' +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: VOS- OB- OT- (-SEDÁT') POD-  
(-SÉST') NAD- RAS- S- (-SEDÁT'SJA)

2) SOSÚDISTYJ "vascular", adj.

SOSÚD "vessel", noun

OR: sūsudŭ "vessel", noun



$$\text{UR: } \# \text{ su} + \text{soud} + \bar{\bar{V}} \dots \# \longrightarrow \text{IR: } \# \text{ so} + \text{sūd} + \bar{\bar{V}} \dots \#$$

### Summary :

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other variants not listed

Basic variant S- has also been found with the root morpheme SUD<sub>1</sub>, which has a different meaning from the above root morpheme SUD<sub>2</sub> contained in SOSÚDISTYJ, SOSÚD.

### 3.2.4 Summary of the Exceptions to the First Group

- |                             |                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) <u>listed o-variants</u> | b) <u>other listed variants</u> |
| 1) SO-                      | VOS- NAD- OB- OT-               |
|                             | POD- RAS- S-                    |
| 2) SO-                      | -                               |

### 3.2.5 The Second Group

The main components of this group consist of three morphemes — two prefixal and a root morpheme. The first (word-initial or o-variant) prefixal morpheme contains a lax, high, back vowel u in the UR, while the second has a non-high, back vowel. The initial consonant of the root morpheme is identical with the initial consonant of the first prefixal morpheme.

(V-LOWER)      u  $\longrightarrow$  o / C<sup>i</sup>        + (CV)<sub>prefix</sub> + C<sup>i</sup>C

The phonetic feature specifications of the lowering rule with the above environment are the following:

$$(V\text{-LOWER}) \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{high}] / \begin{bmatrix} C \\ -\text{voice} \\ +\text{strident} \end{bmatrix}^i \text{ — } \\ + (CV)_{\text{prefix}} + \begin{bmatrix} C \\ -\text{voice} \\ +\text{strident} \end{bmatrix}^i C$$

where the initial consonants of the first prefixal morpheme and the root morpheme are identical.

In the above group,<sup>26</sup> slightly different in structure from the first group because of an intervening prefix, the prefixal jers are lowered on account of the distribution of the identical consonants in the first prefixal and root morpheme. Although the identical consonants are separated by another prefixal morpheme and two morpheme boundaries, the lowering of the high, lax, back vowel u appears to be triggered by the initial consonantal root morpheme segment, which is identical with the consonant in the first prefix.

The derivations of the prefixal o-variant morphemes having the above phonological environment are developed below.

1) SOPOSTÁVIT' "to compare", pf.; SOPOSTAVLJÁT', impf.

UR: # su + po + st $\bar{o}$  + w +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

(UNROUND):  $\bar{a}$

(w  $\longrightarrow$  v): v

(C  $\longrightarrow$  C'): v'

(V-LOWER): o

IR: # so + po + st $\bar{a}$  + v' ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- OB- OT- (-STÁVIT')

\*S+PO+S... form has not been found

2) SONASLÉDOVAT' "to coinherit", pf. and impf.

SONASLÉDNIK "coheir", noun

UR: #su + n $\bar{o}$  + sl $\bar{e}$ d + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + n $\bar{a}$  + s'l' $\bar{e}$ d + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO- VO- (-SLÉD)

b) other listed variants: V- (-SLÉD) OB- (-SLÉDOVAT')

\*S+NA+S... form not listed

3) SOZASTRÓJŠČIK "partner of one who builds a house on his own", noun

UR: #su + z $\bar{o}$  + stro + j + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + z $\bar{a}$  + stroj + ...#

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other listed variants: V- OB- OT- RAS- (-STRÓIT')
- \*S+ZA+S... form not listed

The above prefixal o-variant forms are few in number and peripheral to the general phonological patterning of o-variant prefixal morphemes. Nevertheless, although few in number, these examples illustrate the dominant influence of the initial or (in the case of VODVORÍT', VOSVOJÁSI, see p. 133) the second initial consonantal segment in the root morpheme, in the formation of prefixal o-variant morphemes.

In spite of an intervening prefix, the structural patterning of o-variant, such as above, has been dictated by the nature of the initial consonant cluster of the root morpheme operating across two morpheme boundaries.

In contrast to the above examples, some examples may be cited where the lax, high, back vowel u has been dropped, on account of the fact that the initial consonantal segment of the first prefixal morpheme has no identical counterpart in the root morpheme: SPODÓBIT', SNABDÍT', SPODVÍŽNIK, SNABŽÉNIE, and so on.

### 3.2.6 Summary of the Second Group

#### a) listed o-variants

1) SO-

2) SO- VO-

3) SO-

#### b) other listed variants

V- OB- OT-

V- OB-

V- OB- OT- RAS-

### 3.2.7 The Third Group

In this group the final, lax, high, back vowel u in the prefixal morpheme is lowered, if the following root morpheme begins with two consonants the second of which is identical with the consonant in the prefixal morpheme preceding the lax, high, back vowel u.

(V-LOWER):  $u \longrightarrow o / C^i \_\_ + CC^i$

The rule feature specifications of this environment are:

(V-LOWER)  $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +high \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-high] / \begin{bmatrix} C \\ -consonant \\ +back \end{bmatrix}^i \_\_ + C \begin{bmatrix} C \\ -consonant \\ +back \end{bmatrix}^i$

Only the two examples below were found to undergo vowel lowering in this specific environment.

1) VODVORÍT' "to install, settle", pf.; VODVORJÁT', impf.

UR: # wu + dwor +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

(w → v): v v

(C → C'): r'

(V-LOWER): o

IR: # vo + dvor' + ... #

#### Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

The VO- variant is listed only in connection with the root morpheme DVOR, while V- variant (V+DV...) is listed in VDVÍNUT', VDVIGÁT', and VDVÓE.<sup>27</sup>

2) VOSVOJÁSI "home, back where one came from", adv., coll.

and ironical term

UR: # wu + swoj + ... #

(w → v): v v

(V-LOWER): o

IR: # vo + svoj + ... #

#### Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

\*V+SV... has not been found to exist in Russian dictionary listings.

### 3.2.8 Summary of the Third Group

a) <u>listed o-variants</u>	b) <u>other listed variants</u>
1) VO-	-
2) VO-	-

### 3.2.9 Concluding Remarks

The distribution of prefixal o-variants in the entire Second Environment reveals that most prefixal constructions are realized as the prefixal o-variant SO-. In some examples, however, there are also a few VO- forms, and also one OBO- o-variant.

Among the twenty-six prefixal o-variants present, there is only one word in which the regular prefixal form S- alternates with SO-. This apparent exception, when compared with almost uniform polarization into regular and o-variant prefixal outputs, may be considered as immaterial since all other SO-, VO-, and OBO- o-variant forms satisfy the structural description of this environment.

The distribution of the above prefixal o-variants seems to indicate that the phonological process of lowering in this environment is applicable only to specific prefixal morphemes, while the UR's of all other prefixal morphemes undergo the jer-dropping rule and develop as regular prefixal morphemes.

In this environment a number of prefixal forms develop contrary to the rule for no obvious phonological reason. Such cases again demonstrate how difficult it is to fit all interrelated linguistic phenomena into well-defined patterns.



### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>In the following analysis the (V-LOWER) rule is applied first and the direction of application is from right to left. For a more detailed analysis regarding the priority of order and direction of application see, for example,

a) Stephen R. Anderson, The Organization of Phonology (New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 242-247;

b) Aleksandr V. Isačenko, "East Slavic morphophonemics and the treatment of the jers in Russian: a revision of Havlik's Law", International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, XIII (1970), pp. 73-124;

c) Lightner, 1972, pp. 368-369.

<sup>2</sup>The rules in each case specify the particular relation which exists between an underlying representation of a morpheme constituent and the more or less specific form of an intermediate representation of the same constituent.

<sup>3</sup>Akan'e is usually connected with the reduction of unstressed sounds and, consequently, its development comes after that of the lowering and dropping of jers.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, the Second Environment of the Lower Rule.

<sup>5</sup>Parallel environments as in prefixes can also be found among prepositional o-variants and the following initial consonant clusters or morphemes from which a jer has been dropped. For example: SO STRÁXU, and SO STRÁXA, SO STOLÁ, SO VSEM, KO MNÉ, KO SNÚ, SO SNÚ, VO SNÉ, SO DNJÁ, and so on.

<sup>6</sup>Sporadically, a few forms are afterward fully derived to show the application of certain phonological rules.

<sup>7</sup>Nevertheless, in each case the abbreviated IR's in question were separately generated by the appropriate rules and only then stated in their present form.

<sup>8</sup>In this and other similar examples the long segment ī in the imperfective aspect of verbs is derived by the (DI-TENSING) rule, by which the underlying short segment i in DI's changes to ī. See also ō ~ ā (SOSKOČIT', pf. ~ SOSKAKIVAT', impf.).

<sup>9</sup>In OCS, OR, and CS examples ĩ and ũ stand for short vowels (front and back jer, respectively).

<sup>10</sup>Note that the segment y in # v + b'ĩr + ... # has been described as hard according to current Russian literary pronunciation, although in the Old Moscow pronunciation it is supposed to be softened to a degree by the following soft consonant; cf. R. I. Avanesov, Russkoe literaturnoe proiznošenie (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1968), p. 113.

<sup>11</sup>Nonexistent forms, such as this, are indicated by an asterisk.

<sup>12</sup>The final prefixal segment t in # ot + b'ĩr + ... # before the soft dentals is, in the present Russian literary norms, pronounced hard. The softening of the segment t, the pronunciation of the Old Moscow norm, is today considered colloquial; cf. Avanesov (1968), p. 116.

<sup>13</sup>The above note also applies in the case of the final prefixal segment d in # pod + b'ĩr + ... #.

<sup>14</sup>Lowering of jers in OCS (SOBÓR) developed earlier (about X-XI c.) than in OR (SBÓR). The above OCS o-variants were borrowed by scribes and subsequently included in the Russian vocabulary.

<sup>15</sup>As regards the pronunciation of the final prefixal segment z in # vz + b'ĩr + ... #, see Avanesov (1968), p. 116.

<sup>16</sup>The prefixal morpheme IZ- from UR #izu# in the perfective form of the verb IZBRĀT' stands as an exception to the First Environment of the Lower Rule. In being dropped, the prefixal jer u behaves contrary to other parallel perfective forms, in spite of the fact that it is in the "strong" position and the jer in the root morpheme in the "weak" position is dropped as expected (#bir# → #br#). In all probability this is a CS borrowing, therefore a [-R] form.

<sup>17</sup>In this expression the prefixal o-variant (VO-) repeats the meaning already expressed by the word (VNE) without the prefix.

<sup>18</sup>The function of stress in the formation of prefixal o-variants is elaborated in Appendix I.

<sup>19</sup>In this and similar examples with the same root morpheme, only one prefixal o-variant (the first one listed in the summary, for example, OBO-) is traced from UR to IR.

Other prefixal variants, if any, are added without being elaborated.

<sup>20</sup>Note in this irregularly developed form the four-consonant sequence tmst, also contributing to the term's gradual obsolescence.

<sup>21</sup>The root in this verb seems to be one from DI verb stem, hence the long vowel (ī) posited in this root morpheme. The derivational processes seem to be too complex to consider here.

<sup>22</sup>The form SOSTYKÁT', astronomical term, is a recent acquisition of the Russian vocabulary.

<sup>23</sup>See note 21, above.

<sup>24</sup>See note 21, above.

<sup>25</sup>See note 18, above.

<sup>26</sup>Notice that this group is structurally almost identical with the previous group.

<sup>27</sup>VDVÓE may well be considered as an idiosyncratic form. If its UR is posited as # wu + duw + ... #, it will give \*VODVOE.

## CHAPTER IV

### NONPHONOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED O-VARIANTS

#### 4.0 Introduction

There is a diverse group of various root morphemes which defy classification with regard to any regular patterning in the derivation of prefixal o-variant morphemes.<sup>1</sup> As a group the o-variants associated with these root morphemes seem to have no phonological environmental motivation. Instead, the motivation appears to be lexical or stylistic.

In some cases both prefixal variants (S- and SO-, and the like) are used before the same root morpheme — in one variant the lax, high, back vowel u is dropped; in the other variant it is lowered. These two co-existing variants having one and the same root morpheme result in words which are:

- a) of different meaning;
- b) contemporary or obsolete;
- c) of high, official style versus colloquial;
- d) of Church Slavic origin; and,
- e) analogical in patterning.

Some of the above terms are nouns which, by their prefixal o-variant morpheme, express the meaning of companionship, either in time or in space, as in the examples: SOBESÉDNIK, SODOKLÁDČIK, SOŽÍTEL', and SOXOZJÁIN.

From the examples that follow, it is clear that the relationships between some words are varied and often complicated. Thus many words in the following section have two slightly different forms — one constructed of Russian elements, the other of Church Slavic elements. The discrimination between the [-R] versus [+R] forms listed has been made generally on the basis of the following pairs of related indicators:

<u>[-R] features</u>	<u>[+R] features</u>
L̄V (GRĀD, PRE-)	VLV (GÓROD, PERE-)
<u>e</u> (EDÍNYJ)	<u>o</u> (ODÍN)
<u>šč</u> < <u>t+j</u> (VOZVRAŠČĚN)	<u>č</u> < <u>t+j</u> (VORÓČEN)
<u>žd</u> < <u>d+j</u> (GRAŽDANÍN)	<u>ž</u> < <u>d+j</u> (GOROŽÁNIN)

Despite the above restrictions there seems to be some overlap of [-R] and [+R] forms which cannot be specified. It is not claimed that some of the following unmarked root morphemes should be marked [-R], although in some cases the entire expressions are either borrowed from, or patterned after Church Slavonicisms.

Since some root morphemes in this group exhibit observable common features, the words with prefixal o-variants are classified and presented according to root morpheme features.

#### 4.1 Initial CL Sequence in Root Morphemes

In this section all those root morphemes which have been confirmed to have Church Slavic origin are marked [-R]. In many cases the same word has its corresponding [+R] polno-glasie doublet form. In cases like these, the first root morpheme is of CS origin, while the second originates in OR.

All CS words listed in the Nonphonologically Motivated group are considered to have entered the Russian language as borrowings, therefore the o-variant prefixes have been posited with the already developed vinal segment o. This has also been done with some forms which pattern like CS words.

The following examples represent the words with prefixal o-variants found in this group:

1) SOBLAZNÍT' "to entice, tempt", [-R][+S], pf.;

SOBLAZNJÁT', impf.

OCS, CS: sŭblaznŭ "temptation", noun

UR: # so + blōzn + V̄ ... #

(UNROUND): ā

(C → C'): n'

IR: # so + blāzn' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

BLAZN as a root morpheme has not an independent status;

it is always prefixed by the morpheme SO- and no other prefix.

2) SOBLJUSTÍ "to observe, keep", pf.; SOBLJUDÁT', impf.

UR: # so + bleud + tī # → IR: # so + bl'ūs' + t'ī #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

3) SOBRÁT "fellow (by profession), brother", noun

UR: # so + brōt + ... # → IR: # so + brāt #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

4) SOVLADÁT' "to control", [-R][+S], pf., coll.

SOVLADÉT' "to control", [-R][+S], pf., coll. and obs.

SOVLADÉLEC "joint owner", noun

OR: voloděti "to rule", [+R]

UR: # so + wold + ... #

(V-GEM): oo

(VV →  $\bar{V}$ ) [-R]:  $\bar{o}$

(METATH) [-R]: l $\bar{o}$

(UNROUND):  $\bar{a}$

(w → v): v

IR: # so + vlād + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-VLÁSTIE)POD- (-VLÁSTNOST')

Note also OB- (-LADÁT') where the segment y has been deleted.

5) VOVLEKÁT' "to draw, involve", impf.;

VOVLEČ', [-R][+S], pf.

[+R] variant: VOLÓČ' "to draw, drag" (=VOLOČÍT'), impf., coll.

UR: # wo + welk + ... #

(V-GEM): ee

(VV →  $\bar{V}$ ) [-R]:  $\bar{e}$ (METATH) [-R]: l $\bar{e}$ 

(w → v): v v

(C → C'): l'

IR: # vo + vl'ēk + ... #

Summary of the distribution of all prefixal morpheme variants patterning in regard to the root morpheme VLEK:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- OT- RAZ- (IZVLEKÁT', OTVLEKÁT', RAZVLEKÁT')

V- and S- prefixal variant morphemes are found in the



corresponding [+R] polnoglasie forms VVOLÁKIVAT', and SVOLÁKIVAT'.

- 6) SOVLÉČ' "to drag/pull off", [-R][+S], pf.; SOVLEKÁT', impf.  
 SVOLÓČ' "to drag/pull off", [+R][+S], pf.;  
 SVOLÁKIVAT', impf.

	<u>[-R] form</u>	<u>[+R] form</u>
UR:	# so + welk + $\ddot{V}$ ... #	# su + welk + $\ddot{V}$ ... #
(K $\longrightarrow$ Č) :	č	č
(el $\longrightarrow$ ol) [+R] :	-	o
(V-GEM) :	ee	oo
(VV $\longrightarrow$ $\bar{V}$ ) [-R] :	$\bar{e}$	
(METATH) :	l $\bar{e}$	olo
(w $\longrightarrow$ v) :	v	v
(C $\longrightarrow$ C') :	l'č'	č'
(V-DROP) :		∅
IR:	# so + vl'eč' + ... #	# s + voloč' + ... #

#### Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO- VO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- OT- RAZ-

Cf. also VOVLEČ' and related forms derived within the First Environment.

7) SOPROVODÍT' "to accompany", pf.;

SOPROVOŽDÁT', [-R][+S], impf.

SPROVÁDIT' "to show out", pf., coll.; SPROVÁŽIVAT', impf.

UR: #so + pro + wod' +  $\bar{V}$  ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + pro + vod' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRO-

b) other listed variants: S + PRO- (-VODÍT')

Cf. also VOS + PRO + IZ- (-VODÍT'), S- (-VODÍT')

This example stands as an exception, since it has a prefixal morpheme which follows the o-variant morpheme (other exceptions are examples 15, 19, 36, 41 and 42 below).

8) SOVRATÍT' "to seduce, pervert", [-R][+S], pf.;

SOVRAŠČÁT', impf.

SOVRAŠČÉNIE "seduction", noun

SVOROTÍT' "to displace, turn", [+R], pf., coll.;

SVORÁČIVAT', impf.

UR: # so + wort +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + vrāt' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- IZ- OT- RAZ-

Cf. the deletion of the segment y in the root morpheme form of the word OBRATÍT'.

9) VÓVREMJA "in time", [-R][+S], adv.

[+R] variant: VERÉMJA "time, season", noun, dialectal

UR: # wo + werm + en #

(V-GEM): ee

(VV  $\rightarrow \bar{V}$ ) [-R]:  $\bar{e}$

(METATH) [-R]:  $r\bar{e}$

(w  $\rightarrow$  v): v v

(C  $\rightarrow$  C'): r' m'

(V-NASAL):  $\bar{a}$

(C#  $\rightarrow$  Ø#): Ø

IR: # vo + vr' $\bar{e}m$ ' +  $\bar{a}$  #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-VRÉMENNOST')

10) SOVREMÉNNOST' "contemporaneity", [-R][+S], noun

OR: veremja "time", [+R], noun, at present still used  
dialectally

UR: #so + werm + en + ...#  $\rightarrow$  IR: #so + vr' $\bar{e}m$ ' + en + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO- VO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-VRÉMENNOST')

11) SOGLASOVÁT' "to co-ordinate", [-R][+S], pf.;

SOGLASÓVYVAT', impf.

SOGLASÍT' "to consent", [-R][+S], pf.; SOGLAŠÁT', impf.

SOGLÁSIE "consent", noun; [+R] form: GÓLOS "voice", noun

UR: # so + gols + ... # → IR: # so + glās + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- VOZ- RAZ-

12) SOGLJADÁTAJSTVOVAT' "to spy", impf.

SOGLJADÁTAJ "spy", noun, obs.

UR: # so + glend + ... # → IR: # so + gl'ād + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- POD- RAZ- (-GLJÁDET'),  
VZ- (-GLJÁNUT'), V- (-GLJÁDET'SJA)

13) SOGRAŽDANÍN "fellow citizen", [-R][+S], noun

cf: GOROŽÁNIN "citizen", [+R], noun

UR: # so + gord + j + ... # → # so + grāžd + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

14) SOGREŠÍT' "to sin against", pf., obs.; SOGREŠÁT', impf.

UR: # so + grēx +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + gr'eš + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-GRÉŠNOST')

15) SOPREDÉL'NOST' "contiguity", [-R][+S], noun

cf. OR: pere-; OCS,CS: přě-

UR: # so + per + dēl + V̇ ... #

→ IR: # so + pr'ē + d'ēl' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRE-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also: BEZ + RAZ- OT- POD- S- (-DÉL'NOST')

16) SODROGNÚT'SJA "to shudder", pf.; SODROGÁT'SJA, impf.

cf. SÚDOROGA "cramp", [+R], noun

UR: # so + drog + ... # → IR: # so + drog + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: VZ- IZ-

17) SODRÚŽESTVO "concord, co-operation", noun

(root morpheme: DRUG)

UR: # so + droug + V̇ ... # → IR: # so + druž + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: S- RAZ- (-DRUŽÍŤ')

18) VODRUŽÍŤ' "to erect, hoist", pf.; VODRUŽÁŤ', impf.

UR: # wo + drouz +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + druž' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

The root morpheme DRUZ does not exist in isolation and no prefixes other than VO- are attached to it.

Cf. also root morpheme DRUG, above

19) SOPRIKOSNÚŤ'SJA "to be contiguous to, adjoin", pf.;

SOPRIKASÁŤ'SJA, impf.; KOSNÚŤ'SJA, [-R][+S]

SOPRIKOSNOVÉNIE "contiguity", noun (=SOPRIKOSNOVÉNNOST')

UR: # so + prĭ + kos + ... #

(C  $\longrightarrow$  C') r'

IR: # so + pr'ĭ + kos + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRI-

b) other variants not listed

20) OBOKRÁST' "to rob", pf.; OBKRÁDYVAT', impf.

OBOKRÁDENNYJ, p.p.p., and also OBKRÁDENNYJ

UR: # obo + krōd + tī # → IR: # obo + krās' + t' #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO-

b) other listed variants: OB- RAS- S-; also POD-  
 (-KRÁST'SJA), V- OB- POD- (-KRÁDYVAT'SJA)

21) SOKRATÍT' "to shorten", [-R][+S], pf.; SOKRAŠČÁT', impf.

KORÓTKIJ "short", [+R], adj.

SKOROTÁT' "to while away", [+R], pf., coll.;

KOROTÁT', impf.

UR: # so + kort +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + krāt' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- (-KRÁTCE)

22) SOKREDITÓR "co-creditor", [-R][-S], noun

UR: # so + kredīt + ... # → IR: # so + kredīt + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

With foreign prefixes DIS- RE- (-KRÉDIT)

23) VOKRÚG "round, around", adv., modern usage; VKRÚG, obs.

UR: # wo + kroug + ... # → IR: # vo + krūg + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: V-; POD- S- (-KRUGLÍT'),  
VS- (-KRUŽÍT')

With other root morphemes having CL sequence, only V- has been found listed: V- (-KRÓIT', -KRUTÍT', and so on)

24) SOKRUŠÍT' "to smash, shatter", pf.; SOKRUŠÁT', impf.

UR: # so + kroux +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

(K → Č): š

(C → C'): š'

(MONOPH):  $\bar{u}$

(š' → š): š

IR: # so + krūš + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

25) SOKRÝT' "to hide", pf., obs.; SOKRYVÁT', impf., obs.

SKRÝT' "to hide", pf.; SKRYVÁT', impf.

UR: # so + krū + ... # → IR: # so + krý + ... #



## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: S- OT-

26) SOPLEMÉNNIK "tribesman", noun, obs.

cf. PLÉMJA "tribe", noun

PLEMJÁNNIK "nephew", noun

UR: # so + plem + en +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

→ IR: # so + pl'em' + en' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

27) PODOPLÉČNYJ "lining", adj.; also PODPLÉČNYJ

PODOPLĚKA "the real state of affairs, behind the scene",  
nounUR: # podo + plek +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # podo + pl'eč' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: PODO-b) other listed variants: POD- PRED-; also S- (-PLEČÁ)

28) SOPLÓDIE "collective fruit", noun, bot. term

UR: # so + plod +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + plod' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BES-; RAS- (-PŁODÍT'),  
MEŽ- (-PŁÓDNIK)

29) VOPLÓTÍT' "to incarnate, embody", [-R][+S], pf.;

VOPLÓŠČÁT', impf.

UR: # wo + plot +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + plot' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-b) other listed variants: V- (-PŁÓT')

30) SÓPRAVÍTEL' "co-ruler", noun

UR: # so + prōw +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + prāv' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: IS- OT-; also V- IS- OT-  
POD- S- (-PRÁVIT')

31) VOPREKÍ "in spite of, despite", [-R][+S], adv.

cf. PERÉČIT' "to contradict", [+R], impf.

POPERĚK "across", [+R], adv. and preposition

UR: # wo + perk +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + pr'ĕk' + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other variants not listed

- 32) SOPRJAGÁT' "to join, unite", impf., obs.; SOPRJÁČ', pf.  
 SPRJAGÁT' "to harness/yoke oxen; to join, unite", impf.,  
 obs.; SPRJÁČ', pf.  
 SPRJAGÁT' "to conjugate", ling. term, impf.

UR: # so + preng + ... # → IR: # so + pr'āg + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other listed variants: V- S- OT- POD-; also SU-  
 (-PRŮG)

- 33) VOPROSÍT' "to inquire, question", [-R][+S], pf., obs.;  
 VOPROŠÁT', impf.

UR: # wo + pros +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + pros' + ... #

## Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: VO-
- b) other listed variants: IS- OT- S-

- 34) SOPROTIVLJÁT'SJA "to oppose, resist", impf.

SOPROTIVLÉNIE "resistance", noun

SOPROTÍVNIK "opponent", noun; cf. OR: přiči "opponent"

SOPRÓTIV "opposite", adv., obs. (=SUPRÓTIV, adv., obs.)

UR: #so + protīw +  $\bar{V}$  ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + prot'īvl' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: SU- (-PROTÍVNIK, -PRÓTIV, -PROTIVNIČÁT')

35) VOSLÉD (ZA) "after, following", adv., obs.

(=VSLÉD, modern usage)

OCS, OR: slědŭ "to follow"

VOSLÉD [-R]

VSLÉD [+R]

UR: # wo + slēd + ... # # wu + slēd + ... #

(w  $\longrightarrow$  v):

v

(C  $\longrightarrow$  C'):

l'

l'

(V-DROP):

∅

(CC'  $\longrightarrow$  C'C'):

s'

s'

IR: # vo + s'l'ēd + ... # # v + s'l'ēd + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: V-; IS- (-SLEDÍT'), OB- (-SLEDOVÁT')

Cf. also SO + NA- (-SLÉDNIK)

36) SOPRISÚTSTVOVAT' "to be co-present", pf., obs.

SOPRISÚTSTVIE "co-presence", noun, obs.

PRISÚŠČIJ "inherent (in)", [-R][+S], adj.

UR: #so + prī + sout + ...# → IR: #so + p'r'ī + sūt + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRI-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-SÚTSTVOVAT')

\*S+PRI+S... form not listed

37) SOTRAPÉZNIK "table-companion", noun, obs.

SOTRAPÉZNIČAT' "to eat at the same table", impf., obs.

OR, OCS: trapeza "table", noun

UR: # so + trōpez + ... # → IR: # so + trāp'ez + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

38) SOTRJASTÍ "to shake", pf., obs.; SOTRJASÁT', impf.

STRJASTÍ "to shed, throw off", pf.; STRJASÁT', impf.

UR: # so + trens + tī # → IR: # so + t'r'ās' + t'ī #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- S-

39) SOTRÚDNIK "collaborator", noun

SOTRÚDNIČAT' "to collaborate", impf.

OR: trudŭ; OCS: troudŭ "weariness, exhaustion", noun

UR: # so + troud + ... # → IR: # so + trūd + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-TRUDÍT'SJA), BES-  
(-TRUDOVŎJ)

40) SOXRANÍT' "to keep, preserve", [-R][+S], pf.;

SOXRANJÁT', impf.

SXORONÍT' "to bury, hide", [+R], pf.

OCS: xraniti "to protect, guard over"

UR: # so + xorn + V̈ ... # → IR: # so + xrān' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

41) SOPRIČÁSTNOST' "complicity, participation", noun

OR: častĭ; OCS: čenstĭ "part", noun

UR: #so + priĭ + kēs + ... # → IR: #so + p'r'ĭ + č'as + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRI- SO + U-

b) other listed variants: BEZ + U-

42) SOPRIČĚST' "to add, attach", pf., obs. (=SOPRIČÍSLIT')

SOPRIČISLJÁT', impf.

OCS, OR: čisti "to count, add"

UR: # so + prī + kes + V̈ ... #

→ IR: # so + p'r'ī + č'es't' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PRI-

b) other variants not listed

Note also: PRED + PO- OB- S- (-ČĚST'), OT- S-  
(-ČÍSLIT')

43) SOČLENÍT' "to join", [-R][+S], pf.; SOČLENJÁT', impf.

OR: čelenůků "member", [+R], noun; cf. also SOČLÉN

UR: # so + keln + V̈ ... # → IR: # so + č'l'en' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BES- RAS-

4.2 Summary of Prefixal Variants

a) <u>listed o-variants</u>	b) <u>other listed variants</u>
1) SO-	-
2) SO-	-
3) SO-	-
4) SO-	BEZ- POD-
5) VO-	IZ- OT- RAZ-
6) VO- SO-	IZ- OT- RAZ-
7) SO-	S-
8) SO-	VOZ- IZ- OT- RAZ-
9) VO-	BEZ-
10) VO- SO-	BEZ-
11) SO-	BEZ- VOZ- RAZ-
12) SO-	V- VZ- OB- POD- RAZ-
13) SO-	-
14) SO-	BEZ-
15) SO-	-
16) SO-	VZ- IZ-
17) SO-	RAZ- S-
18) VO-	-
19) SO-	-
20) OBO-	V- OB- POD- RAS- S-
21) SO-	V-
22) SO-	-



23) VO-	V- VS- POD- S-
24) SO-	-
25) SO-	OT- S-
26) SO-	-
27) PODO-	POD- PRED- S-
28) SO-	BES- MEŽ- RAS-
29) VO-	V-
30) SO-	V- IS- OT- POD- S-
31) SO-	-
32) SO-	V- OT- POD- S- SU-
33) VO-	IS- OT- S-
34) SO-	SU-
35) VO-	V- IS- OB-
36) SO-	OT-
37) SO-	-
38) SO-	OT- S-
39) SO-	BES- OT-
40) SO-	-
41) SO-	BEZ-
42) SO-	-
43) SO-	BES- RAS-

#### 4.3 Concluding Remarks

The representation of the various prefixal o-variants in the foregoing section with initial CL sequence in root morphemes has been in terms of fairly narrow selection. The two well-established patterns are the prefixal o-variants SO- and VO-, the former definitely as the major representative of the CL sequence group.

Contrary to the First Environment, this restricted set of only two prefixal o-variants (SO- and VO-), with the exception of only one OBO- and one PODO- form, suggests the high generative potential output of SO- and VO- variants in words of Church Slavic origin.

Of the total of thirty-four SO- prefixal o-variants, there are only six examples in which SO- overlaps with the S- prefixal variant. A comparison of VO- and V- indicates only a fragmentary overlapping.

To explore further in this area, that is, to explain the phenomenon of the dropping of jers in all other prefixes, the available evidence requires additional extensive linguistic investigation.

#### 4.4 Post-Prefixal UR's with an Initial O-Segment

In the following examples the root and prefixal morphemes coming after prefixal o-variants have in their UR's an initial o-segment.<sup>2</sup> The phonetic VV sequence at the first morpheme boundary is always realized as surface o or ū segment, the result being one of the rare cases of vowel sequence at the morpheme boundary.

The derivations of some typical forms and abbreviated parallel forms having the above environment and undergoing the Lower Rule are as follows:

1) SOÁVTOR<sup>3</sup> "co-author", [-R] [-S], noun

UR: # so + ōwtor #

(UNROUND): ā

(w → v): v

IR: # so + āvtor #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

2) SOOTVÉTSTVOVAT' "to correspond to/with", impf.

SOOTVÉTSTVIE "accordance, conformity", noun

cf. SOVÉT "advice, council", noun

OTVÉT "answer", [-R] [+S]

UR: #so + otu + wēt + ...# → IR: #so + ot + v'ēt + ...#

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ + OT- (-VÉTNOST'),POD + OT- (-VÉTNÝJ)Cf. OBÉT (< OB + VET) where v has been deleted.3) SOUDARJÁT'SJA "to collide", impf. (< DAR<sub>2</sub>)

UR: #so + ou + dōr + V̈ ...# → IR: #so + ū + dār' + ...#

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: BEZ + U- PRED + U- (-DÁRNYJ)

4) VODUŠEVÍT' "to inspire", pf.; VODUŠEVLJÁT', impf.

UR: # wo + o + doux + V̈ ... #

(K → Č): š

(w → v): v

(C → C'): š'

(MONOPH): ū

(š' → š): š

IR: # vo + o + dūš + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

5) SOOZNAČÁT' "to signify", impf.

cf. ZNÁK "sign", noun

UR: # so + o + zn̄o + ... # → IR: # so + o + zn̄a + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also SOZNÁT', OSOZNÁT', PODSOZNÁTEL'NOST'

6) SORAZMÉRIT' "to proportion", pf.;

SORAZMERJÁT', [-R][+S], impf.

UR: # so + orz + m̄er + ĭ + ... #

→ IR: # so + r̄az + m'ēr' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also SO + IZ- (-MERJÁT'), but IZ- S- (-MÉRIT')

7) SOUMÝŠLENNIK "accomplice", noun

cf. MÝSL' "thought", noun

UR: #so + ou + m̄usl + Ů ...# → IR: #so + ū + m̄ýšl' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: PRED + U- (-MÝŠLENNOST')

However, without an intervening segment o, prefixes are realized as IZ- RAZ- S- (-MÝSLIT')

8) SOOTNEŠTÍ "to correlate", pf.; SOOTNOSÍT', impf.

SOOTNOŠÉNIE "correlation", noun

UR: #so + otu + nes + tī# → IR: #so + ot + n'es' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

Note also V- VZ- OB- OT- POD- RAZ- S- (-NEŠTÍ),  
S- (-NOSÍT')

9) VOOBŠČĚ "in general, generally", [-R][+S], adv.

cf. ÓBŠČIJ "general, common", adj.

OCS: obīštī, "common", adj.; OR: obīče, "commonly", adv.

UR: # wo + obi + t + j + V̈ ... #

(T → Č): šč

(w → v): v

(C → C'): b' č'

(j → ∅): ∅

(V-DROP): ∅

(CC' → C'C'): š'

IR: # vo + ob' + š'č' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- RAZ-

10) SOOBŠČÍT' "to report", [-R][+S], pf.; SOOBŠČÁT', impf.

SOOBŠČÉNIE "report, information", noun

UR: # so + obi + t + j +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

→ IR: # so + ob' + š'č' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- SO-

b) other listed variants: OB- RAZ-

11) VOÓČIJU "with one's own eyes", adv.

cf. OR: oko "eye", noun

UR: # wo + ok +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + oč' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ-

12) SOOTÉČESTVENNIK "compatriot", noun

SOÓTČIČ "compatriot", noun, obs.

UR: # so + otik +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + ot'eč' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-OTCÓVŠČINA),

V- (-ÓTČIM)

The form VÓTČIM and other related constructions are the only exceptions to the above environment in which the underlying prefixal segment u drops instead of being lowered.

13) SOOPEKÚN "co-guardian", noun

cf. OPÉKA "guardianship", [-R] (< Polish: OPIEKA), noun

UR: # so + o + pek + ... # → IR: # so + o + p'ek + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: POD- (-O+PÉČNYJ)

14) SOOBRAZÍT' "to consider", pf.; SOOBRAŽÁT', [-R], impf.

VOOBRAZÍT' "to imagine", pf.; VOOBRAŽÁT', impf.

UR: #so + obu + rōz +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: #so + ob + rāz' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- SO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- IZ- OT-

Note also OT- RAZ- S- (-RAZÍT'), and NE + SU-

(-RÁZNOST')

15) SOORUDÍT' "to build, erect", pf.; SOORUŽÁT', impf.

UR: #so + o + roud +  $\ddot{V}$  ... # → IR: #so + o + rūd' + ... #



## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: OB-

16) VOORUŽÍT' "to arm", pf.; VOORUŽÁT', impf.

cf. RUŽJĚ "gun", noun

UR: # wo + o + roug +  $\bar{V}$  ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + o + rŭž + ...#

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- SO-b) other listed variants: O + BEZ- RAZ-

17) SOÚZNIK "fellow prisoner" (&lt; UZ), [-R][+S], noun

cf. ÚZY "bonds", ÚZEL "knot", nouns

SÚZIT' "to narrow, pf.; SÚŽIVAT', impf.

OR: uzīnikŭ, CS: juzīnikŭ "(chained) prisoner", nouns

UR: # so + ouz +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + ŭz' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-b) other listed variants: OB- (-ÚZIT')

18 ) ZAKOÚLOK "back street", noun

cf. ÚLICA "street", noun

UR: # zā + ko + oul + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #zā + ko + ŭl + ...#

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: ZA + KO-

b) other variants not listed

19) NADOÚMIT' "to suggest an idea", pf.; NADOÚMLIVAT', impf.

UR: # nādo + oum +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # nādo + ūm' + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: NADO-b) other listed variants: IZ- (-ÚMIT')

20) SOUČÁSTVOVAT' "to participate", impf.

SOUČÁSTNIK "participant, accomplice", noun

SOUČÁSTIE "participation", noun

cf. ČÁST' "part, share", noun

UR: # so + ou + kēs + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + ū + č'ās + ... #

## Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

However, note also S- (-ČÁSTIE)

21) SOUČENÍK "schoolmate", noun

cf. NAÚKA "study, science, knowledge", noun

NĚUK "ignoramus", noun

UR: # so + ouk +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so +  $\bar{u}\check{c}$ ' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: POD- RAZ- (-ÚČENNYJ)

4.5 Summary of Prefixal Variants

a) <u>listed o-variants</u>	b) <u>other variants listed</u>
1) SO-	-
2) SO-	BEZ-
3) SO-	BEZ- PRED-
4) VO-	-
5) SO-	-
6) SO-	-
7) SO-	PRED-
8) SO-	-
9-10) VO- SO-	OB- RAZ-
11) VO-	BEZ-
12) SO-	BEZ-
13) SO-	POD-
14) VO- SO-	BEZ- IZ- OT-
15) SO-	OB-
16) VO- SO-	(O-) -BEZ- RAZ-
17) SO-	OB-
18) (ZA-) -KO-	-
19) NADO-	IZ-
20) SO-	-
21) SO-	POD- RAZ-

#### 4.6 Concluding Remarks

In the foregoing section it was possible to examine the prefixes followed by morphemes that begin with an underlying vowel o or ō. The forms in this section are of special interest because the variety of classificatory roots presented in the other two sections (except for a few morphemes beginning with ī) are root morphemes beginning with at least a consonant or a consonant cluster followed by a vowel.

From the above summary it is quite clear that in this section, as in those immediately preceding, the surface prefixal morphemes are again limited to the o-variant SO-, with a handful of VO- prefixal variants. There is also one example each of the KO- and NADO- variants.

It should be noted that here all UR's of the prefixal morpheme are #so#, that is, there is not a single example of S- or V- prefixal outputs. The prefixal examples in this section indicate that the UR's of prefixal morphemes in the Church Slavic words presented were, in the process of creating a terminal form, limited to generate in one direction only, as either o-variants or regular variants. The data on the prefixal outputs reveal no exception to this polarization, that is, regular and o-variants neither alternate nor duplicate.

#### 4.7 Other Examples Lacking Phonological Motivation

1) SOBOLÉZNOVAT' "to condole (with)", impf.

SOBOLÉZNOVANIE "condolence", noun

UR: # so + bol + V ... # → IR: # so + bol' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants BEZ- (-BOLÉZNENNOST')

IZ- OT- (BOLÉT') RAZ- (BOLÉT'SJA)

2) SOBUTÝL'NIK "boon companion", [-R][-S], noun

(< Polish: BUTELKA < French: BOUTEILLE)

SOBUTÝL'NIČAT' "to drink in company", impf., coll.

UR: # so + boutül + V̈ + ...# → IR: # so + bütýl' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

3) SOBÝTIE "event", noun

SBÝT'SJA "come true", pf.; SBYVÁT'SJA, impf.

UR: # so + b̄u + t + V̈ ...# → IR: # so + b̄y + t' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- OT- S- (-BÝT'SJA)

4) VOVĚK "always, forever", adv., high style

VVĚK (NE) "never", adv., coll.

UR: # wo + wĕk + ... # → IR: # vo + v'ĕk + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: V-

Cf. also CC sequence in VVALÍT', VVÉRIT', VVIDÚ, VVOZÍT', where the regular prefixal variant is the form used.

5) SOVERŠÍT' "to accomplish, perform", [-R][+S], pf.,

bookish and official; SOVERŠÁT', impf.

SVERŠÍT' "to accomplish, perform", pf., high style;

SVERŠÁT', impf.

	<u>standard usage [-R]</u>	<u>high style [+R]</u>
UR:	# so + wirx + $\bar{V}$ ... #	# su + wirx + $\bar{V}$ ... #
(K $\longrightarrow$ Č):	š	š
(w $\longrightarrow$ v):	v	v
(C $\longrightarrow$ C'):	v' š'	v' š'
(V-LOWER):	e	e
(V-DROP):		ø
(š' $\longrightarrow$ š):	š	š
(CC' $\longrightarrow$ C'C'):		s'
IR:	# so + v'erš + ... #	# s' + v'erš + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: S-<sup>4</sup>

6) SÓVESTIT' "to reproach", impf., coll.; USÓVESTIT', pf.

SOVEŠČÁT' "to consult with", impf., obs.

cf. OCS sŭvěstĭ "conscience", noun

UR: #so + wēd + tī + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + v'ēs' + t'ī + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- IZ- (-VESTÍT',  
-VEŠČÁT') PRED- (-VÉSTIE) BEZ- (-VÉSTNOST') BEZ + YZ-<sup>5</sup>  
(-VÉSTNOST') PRED- (-VEŠČÁT')

Cf. also IZ- OT- RAZ- S- (-VÉDAT')



7) SOVĚTOVAT' "to advise, counsel", impf.

SOVĚT "advice", [-R][+S], noun (CS sůvětů)

UR: # so + wēt + ... # → IR: # so + v'ēt + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- OT- (-VĚT)

Note also OB- (-ĚT), where y segment is dropped after b, and SO + OT (-VĚTSTVOVAT')

8) SOIZVÓLIT' "to be pleased", [-R][+S], pf., obs.;

SOIZVOLJÁT', impf.

SOIZVOLÉNIE "assent, approbation", noun, obs.

UR: #so + īz + wol + V̄ ...# → IR: # so + īz + vol' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + IZ-

b) other variants not listed

9) SOIZDÁTEL' "co-publisher", noun

UR: # so + īz + dō + ... # → IR: # so + īz + dā + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + IZ-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- IZ- NAD- OB- OT- POD-  
RAZ- S- (-DÁT')

- 10) OTODVÍNUT' "to move aside", pf.; OTODVIGÁT', impf.  
 OTDVÍNUT' "to move aside", pf. (also OTDVÍGAT', pf.)  
 OTDVIGÁT', impf.

UR: #oto + dwīg + nou + ...# → IR: #oto + d'v'ī + nū + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OTO- PODO- SO-

b) other listed variants: V- VOZ- OT- POD- RAZ- S-

- 11) SODÉJSTVOVAT' "to assist, contribute", pf. and impf.  
 SODÉJSTVIE "assistance", noun

UR: #so + dē + ... # → IR: #so + d'ē + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- (-DÉJSTVOVAT') V- VZ-  
POD- RAZ- S- (-DEVÁT')

- 12) SODERŽÁT' "to maintain, support", impf.

SODERŽÁTEL' "landlord", noun, obs.

cf. SDERŽÁT' "to keep back", pf.; SDÉRŽIVAT', impf.

UR: #so + dirg + ṽ ... # → IR: #so + d'erž + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: S-

The derivation of two different prefixal morpheme

forms, developed from the same underlying morpheme, is probably due to the different meaning expressed by each verb, that is, to the [-R] or [+R] origin of the prefixal morpheme.

13) SODOLŽNÍK "co-debtor", noun

UR: # so + dulug +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + dolž + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

14) SOEDINÍT' "to join", pf.; SOEDINJÁT', [-R][+S], impf.

cf. CS: edinyj "single", adj.

UR: # so + jedīn +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + jed'īn' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-; VO- (-EDÍNO)

b) other listed variants: OB"- RAZ"- (-EDINÍT')

15) VOEDÍNO "together", [-R], adv., high style

cf. ODÍN "one", [+R], noun

OCS: edinŭ "one", numeral

UR: # wo + jedīn + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # vo + jed'īn + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-; SO- (-EDINÍT')

b) other listed variants: OB"- RAZ"- (-EDINÍT')

16) SOŽALÉT' "to regret, deplore", impf.

SOŽALÉNIE "regret", noun

UR: # so + gēl +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + žal' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: S- (-ŽÁLIT'SJA) BEZ-  
(-ŽÁLOSNOT') RAZ- (-ŽÁLOVAT')

17) SOŽÍTEL'STVOVAT' "to live together, cohabit", impf.

SOŽÍTEL' "roommate, lover", noun

UR: # so + gīw + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + žī + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: IZ- OB- OT- POD- S- (-ŽÍT')  
V- RAZ- (-ŽÍT'SJA)

18) SOPERÉŽIVÁT' "co-experience, co-survive", impf.

SOPERÉŽIVÁNIE "co-experience, co-survival", noun

UR: #so + per + gīw + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + p'er'e + žīv + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + PERE-

b) other variants not listed

With regard to the sequence per, S- variant is found only in the words SPÉREDI, SPERÉT', and SPERVÁ.

19) SOZERCÁT' "to contemplate", impf.

SOZERCÁTEL', SOZERCÁNIE, nouns

UR: # so + zir + V ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + z'er + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

Other related forms are ZRÉT' "to look", impf., obs., ZRÉNIE "sight", noun, and ZÓRKIJ "sharp-sighted", adj., which, with the form in the example given (SOZERCÁT'), make the e~ø~o alternation sequence.

20) SONANIMÁTEL' "co-tenant", noun

UR: # so + nō + n + īm + ... #

$\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + nā + n' + īm + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + NA-

b) other variants not listed

However, cf. VZ- (-IMÁT'), V- OB- POD- RAZ- S-  
(-N+IMÁT')

21) SOIMÉNNIK "namesake", noun, obs.

UR: #so + īm + en + V̈ ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + īm' + en' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BEZ- OT- (-YMĚNNYJ)

22) SOISKÁTEL' "competitor", noun, official term

UR: # so + ĭsk + ... # → IR: # so + ĭsk + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: S- VZ- IZ- OB- OT- POD- RAZ-  
(-YSKÁT'); S + N- (-ISKÁT')

Note that morpheme-initial i changes to y only when preceded by a prefix: S+YSKÁT', but S+N+ISKÁT'.

23) VOÍSTINU "in truth", adv., obs.

ÍSTINA "truth", noun

UR: # wo + ĭst + Ě ... # → IR: # vo + ĭs't' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other variants not listed

24) SODOKLÁD "co-lecture, co-report", noun

SODOKLÁDČIK "co-lecturer", noun

DOKLÁD "lecture, report", noun

UR: #so + do + klōd + ...# → IR: #so + do + klād + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + DO-

b) other listed variants: V- S- (-KLÁD) OD- POD- RAZ-  
(-KLÁDČIK)

25) SOVOKUPÍT' "to unite, combine", [-R][+S], pf., obs.;  
SOVOKUPLJÁT', impf.

PRISOVOKUPÍT' "to add", pf.; PRISOVOKUPLJÁT', impf.

UR: #so + wo + koup +  $\ddot{V}$  ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + vo + kŭp + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other variants not listed

26) SOKÚRSNIK "classmate", [-R][-S], noun

UR: # so + kours +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + kŭrs' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: only the foreign prefix ÈKS-  
in ÈKSKURSÁNT

27) SOKVARTIRÁNT "co-tenant", [-R][-S], noun

UR: # so + kwōrtīr + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + kvārtīr + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: RAS- (-KVARTIROVÁT') MEŽ-  
(-KVARTÍRNYJ)

28) SKOLUPÁT' "to tear off by scratching", pf.;

SKOLÚPYVAT', impf.

UR: # so + ko + loup + ...# → IR: # s + ko + lūp + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: S + KO- IS + KO- OT + KO-  
POD + KO-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also VZ- IZ- OB- OT- POD- S- (-LUPÍT')

29) SOIZMÉRIT' "to proportion", pf.; SOIZMERJÁT', impf.

UR: #so + ĭz + mēr + V̈ ...# → IR: #so + ĭz + m'ēr' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + IZ- SO + RAZ-

b) other variants not listed

Cf. also IZ- OB- OT- RAZ- S- (-MÉRIT')

30) SONOČLÉŽNIK "co-lodger in tavern", noun

UR: #so + nokt + V̈ ...# → IR: #so + noč' + l'ež + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-NOČEVÁT')

31) SOPÉRNĚČAT' "to rival", impf.

SOPÉRNIK "rival", noun



UR: # so + pir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + p'er + ... #

Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other variants not listed

32) SOPÚTNIK "fellow-traveller", noun

SPÚTNIK "fellow-traveller, satellite", noun

cf. also SOPÚTSTVOVAT' "to accompany", impf.

UR: # so + pout + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + pūt + ... #

Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other listed variants: S-

33) SORÁTNIK "companion-in-arms", noun

UR: # so + rōt + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + rāt + ... #

Summary:

- a) listed o-variants: SO-
- b) other variants not listed

Perhaps SORÁTNIK instead of \*SRATNIK to differentiate it from the taboo word SRÁT'

34) SOREVNOVÁT' "to compete", impf., obs.

cf. SRAVNÍT' "to level, make even", pf.

ROVNJÁT' "to (make) even, align", impf.

UR: # so + riw +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + r'ev + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: VOZ- VZ-

35) SORUBĚŽNYJ "alongside/near to boundary line", adj.

UR: # so + roub +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + rūb' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- IZ- NAD- OT- POD- RAZ-

S- (-RUBÁT')

36) SOBESÉDNIK "collocutor", noun

SOBESÉDOVANIE "colloquy", noun

UR: #so + bez + sēd + ...#  $\longrightarrow$  IR: #so + b'e + s'ēd' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-BESÉDOVAT')

37) OBOSÓBIT' "to isolate", pf.; OBOSOBLJÁT', impf.

OBOSOBLÉNIE "isolation", noun

UR: # obo + sob +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # obo + sob' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: OBO-

b) other listed variants: POD-

38) SOTOVÁRIŠČ "associate, partner", noun

UR: # so + towōr +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + tovār' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO

b) other variants not listed

The root morpheme TOVAR<sub>2</sub>, which in the CS has a different meaning from TOVAR<sub>1</sub> in SOTOVÁRIŠČ, has prefixal morphemes BES- POD- (-TOVÁR'JE).

39) SOTVORÍT' "to create, make", pf.; TVORÍT', impf.

Root morpheme: TVOR<sub>1</sub>

UR: # so + twor +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + tvor' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: POD- RAS-

The root morpheme TVOR<sub>2</sub> has the form STVORÍT' "to close, shut", pf., obs.; STVORJÁT', impf.

40) SOXOZJÁIN "co-owner", [-R][-S], noun

cf. OR: xozja "gentleman", noun (Turkish borrowing)

UR: # so + xozen + j ... # → IR: # so + xoz'ā + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: BES- (-XOZJÁJSTVENNOST')

41) VOCARÍT'SJA "to ascend the throne, set in", pf., obs.;

VOCARJÁT'SJA, impf.

VOCARÍT' "to establish supremacy", pf., obs.

VOCARÉNIE "accession to the throne", noun

OCS; cěsari, OR: cīsari, "emperor", and

carī "lord, sovereign", nouns

UR: # wo + koir +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # vo + cār' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-CÁRSTVOVAT'), MEŽDU-  
(-CÁRSTVIE)

42) SOCVÉTIE "floscule, raceme", noun, bot. term

OCS: cvětī, OR: cvětŭ "flower", nouns

UR: # so + kwēt +  $\bar{V}$  ... # → IR: # so + cv'ēt' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- (-CVESTÍ) POD- RAS-  
(-CVETÍT')

43) VOČELOVÉČIT'SJA "to take human likeness", pf.,

theological term; VOČELOVÉČIVAT'SJA, impf.

VOČELOVÉČÉNIE "human likeness", noun

UR: #wo + kelowēk + V̄ ...# → IR: #vo + č'elov'eč' + ...#

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO-

b) other listed variants: BES- (-ČELOVÉČNOST')

44) SOČETÁT' "to combine", pf. and impf.

OCS: sūčetati "to bind, join"

cf. ČETÁ "couple" (in OR = "detachment"), noun

UR: # so + ket + ... # → IR: # so + č'et + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: RAZO- SO-

b) other variants not listed

45) SOPODČINÍT' "to co-ordinate", pf.; SOPODČINJÁT', impf.

SOPODČINÉNIE "co-ordination", noun, gram. term

UR: # so + pod + kin + V̄ ... #

→ IR: # so + pod + č'ín' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO + POD-

b) other variants not listed

However, cf. V- OB- POD- (-ČINÍT')

S + POD- form has been found in one word only,  
SPODRŮČNIK "helper", noun, coll.

46) SOČINÍT' "to write, invent", pf., obs. and coll.;  
SOČINJÁT', impf.

UR: # so + kin +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + č'in' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: V- OB- POD-

Note also DOSOČINÍT', NASOČINÍT', PERESOČINÍT'

47) SOČÚVSTVOVAT' "to sympathize (with), feel (for)", impf.  
SOČÚVSTVIE "sympathy (with)", noun  
CS: čuvístvo

UR: # so + keuw + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + č'ūv + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: PRED- (-ČÚVSTVOVAT')

V- (-ČÚVSTVOVANIE)

48) SOSUŠČEVSTVOVÁT' "co-exist", impf.  
SOSUŠČESTVOVÁNIE "co-existence", noun  
cf. SUŠČESTVÓ "being", noun (< OCS)

UR: # so + sout + j + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  IR: # so + sūš'č' + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: SO-

b) other listed variants: OT- in OTSÚTSTVOVAT', which has the same underlying root morpheme

49) VOŠĚDŠIJ "having come in", p.p.a.

UR: # wo + xid + V ... # → IR: # vo + šed + ... #

Summary:

a) listed o-variants: VO- VZO- IZO- (S-)-NIZO- OBO- OTO- PODO- RAZO- SO-

b) other listed variants: IS- NIS- OT- S-

Note parallel forms: SOŠĚDŠIJ — SŠĚDŠIJ "having come down", p.p.a., and SOŠĚŠTVIE — SŠĚŠTVIE "descent, comedown", nouns.

#### 4.8 Summary

a) listed o-variants

1) SO-

2) SO-

3) SO-

4) VO-

5) SO-

6) SO-

b) other listed variants

BEZ- IZ- OT- RAZ-

-

IZ- OT- S-

V-

S-

BEZ- BEZ+YZ- VOZ-

IZ- PRED-

7) SO-	IZ- OT-
8) SO+IZ-	-
9) SO+IZ-	VOZ- IZ- NAD- OB- OT-
	POD- RAZ- S-
10) OTO- PODO- SO-	V- VOZ- OT- POD- RAZ- S-
11) SO-	BEZ- V- VZ- POD- RAZ- S-
12) SO-	S-
13) SO-	-
14) VO- SO-	OB"- RAZ"-
15) VO- SO-	OB"- RAZ"-
16) SO-	BEZ- RAZ- S-
17) SO-	V- IZ- OB- OT- POD-
	RAZ- S-
18) SO+PERE-	-
19) SO-	-
20) SO+NA-	-
21) SO-	BEZ- OT-
22) SO-	VZ- IZ- OB- OT- POD-
	RAZ- S- S+N-
23) VO-	-
24) SO+DO-	V- OD- POD- RAZ- S-
25) SO+VO-	-
26) SO-	ÈKS-
27) SO-	MEŽ- RAS-
28) IS+KO- OT+KO-	
POD+KO- S+KO-	-



29) SO+IZ- SO+RAZ-	-
30) SO-	OT-
31) SO-	-
32) SO-	S-
33) SO-	-
34) SO-	VZ- VOZ-
35) SO-	V- IZ- NAD- OT- POD- RAZ- S-
36) SO-	OT-
37) OBO-	POD-
38) SO-	-
39) SO-	POD- RAS-
40) SO-	BES-
41) VO-	MEŽDU- OT-
42) SO-	OT- POD- RAS-
43) VO-	BES-
44) RAZO- SO-	-
45) SO+POD-	-
46) SO-	V- OB- POD-
47) SO-	V- PRED-
48) SO-	OT-
49) VO- VZO- IZO-	
(S-)-NIZO- OBO- OTO-	
PODO- RAZO- SO-	IS- NIS- OT- S-

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>The changes described in this group represent those spontaneous changes for which no reason can be detected from their immediate phonetic environment.

<sup>2</sup>It seems that this type of derivation patterned after CS words is still productive. See, for example, Ludmilla Ignatiev Callahan, Russian-English Chemical and Polytechnical Dictionary (New York: Wiley Interscience, 1975), which lists the following new formations: SOOSADITEL' "coprecipitator", SOOSAŽDAT' "coprecipitate", SOOSAŽDENIE "coprecipitation", and the compound word SOOSNO-VINTOVOJ. It may be noted that stress in the above Dictionary has not been assigned.

<sup>3</sup>Cyganenko considers it as a possible borrowing from the Polish AUTOR, which, in turn, has its origin in the Latin AUTOR; cf. G. P. Cyganenko, Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (Kiev: Radjans'ka škola, 1970), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>Stylistic usage governs whether SO- (SOVERŠÍT', bookish and official terminology), or S- (SVERŠÍT', used on solemn occasions) is going to be used.

<sup>5</sup>There are no \*BEZ+IZ, \*S+IZ, and similar forms with the vowel i following another morpheme ending in a consonant. These forms are absent in Russian dictionary listings since the vowel i in this phonetic environment changes to y, and the form is realized as BEZ+YZ-, S+YZ- (BEZYZVESTNOST', SÝZMALA, SÝZNOVA, and so on).

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The object of this study was to observe and describe an extensive corpus of data in terms of prefixal o-variants, together with the root morpheme following them, at different levels of analysis, along with their modes of combination. A traditional approach presented in Chapter II turned out to be unsatisfactory because the analytic procedure employed does not reach the necessary depth required to bring out the underlying phonological interrelations of the constituents involved. In order to establish phonological interrelations of the morpheme constituents it was necessary to reconstruct the underlying structures (Chapters III and IV) in which the phonological characteristics of each individual constituent were clearly defined.

The most effective grammatical description of the structure of Russian prefixal o-variants seems to be the one which accounts for their surface phonetic forms; namely, one which will use phonological rules for generating o-variant prefixes from their deep abstract forms to the existing patterns they have in the language system at the present time. Consequently, the deep and surface structure morphemes in this study have been represented at their initial and near

final stage, respectively, and the relationship between these two stages is expressed by phonological generative rules.

The deep representations are generally very distinct from the surface structure forms, the latter being unable to indicate significant early grammatical relations and subsequent phonological changes.

The underlying representations of root morphemes in the preceding chapters are given in terms of fairly general phonological characteristics and processes involved; therefore, no doubt some of the representations could be further refined to correspond to more abstract or slightly different underlying segments, which have been proposed and argued in various works and articles dealing with this problem.

The summaries presented at the end of each environment group, or subgroup, are divided into two columns, the variant prefixes and the regular prefixes. The columns thus show at a glance whether and to what extent certain prefixal o-variants have irregularly derived corresponding regular variants.

The Russian prefixal underlying morphemes treated in this paper developed into three main variants:

- a) the prefixal variant with a voiced consonantal segment at the morpheme boundary (VOZ-, OB-, IZ-, NAD-, RAZ-);
- b) the variant with a voiceless segment at the morpheme boundary (VOS-, IS-, OT-, RAS-, S-); and,

c) the prefixal o-variant (IZO-, OTO-, RAZO-, SO-, and so on).

In the first two cases the high, lax, back segment u is dropped out by the application of the phonological rule (V-DROP), while in the third instance the prefixal o-variant morpheme, the classification and derivation of which has been the subject under consideration in this paper, is developed by the application of the phonological rule (V-LOWER) through which u becomes o.

The change of u to o is the direct result of the phonological changes and shift in structural pattern of the following root morpheme. As already outlined in Chapter III above, there are two main environmental factors which trigger the lowering of u to o in the prefixal o-variant morphemes:

- 1) the presence of a jer in the root morpheme; and,
- 2) the identity of the initial consonant of the root morpheme and the initial consonant of the prefixal morpheme.

There is also an additional group (Chapter IV) encompassing all those prefixal variants which do not seem to be phonologically motivated, that is, the environmental factor is not obvious.

Most of the derived prefixal o-variant morphemes can be attributed to one of the environments applied, according to the structural features of the root morpheme which represent that environment type. The description of underlying

patterns of prefixal o-variants in Chapter III shows their corresponding to the division into two environment types. The above chapter contains the entire corpus of o-variant morphemes arranged in types and subtypes in accordance with the environment-dependent characteristics. The study confirms that the two environment indicators do represent reasonably accurate coverage of the prefixal o-variants.

However, no matter how much one would like to fit the corpus-data into neat environmental compartments, there are always cases in which this does not seem to be possible. Thus, although the presentation of o-variant data follows the arrangement of the various environment types, in addition to some environments there are certain subgroups dealing with slightly changed combinations which are related to the existing main environment patterns.

Although the prefixal o-variant morphemes have been conveniently grouped with respect to the particular root morpheme features, almost every such morpheme group has idiosyncratic prefixal examples which fail to undergo the expected lowering process. While lowering is generally consistent for most prefixal morphemes throughout the two environments, there are also prefixal morphemes whose underlying final segment u (as is the case with U.R. # izu #) almost regularly fails to undergo the (V-LOWER) rule and, instead, drops the segment u. Cases like these are considered

to be exceptions to the phonological rule (V-LOWER) generally associated with the root morpheme in question.

Most of the prefixal o-variants can be attributed to one of the environments applied according to the structural features of the root morpheme of the same group. Nevertheless, there is a considerable number of prefixal o-variants which cannot be classified, or grouped together, with respect to a common root morpheme structural pattern. These o-variants have developed regardless of the phonological structure of the root morpheme and, therefore, they are considered to have no phonological motivation. All prefixal o-variant morphemes thus developed represent exceptions associated with words of CS origin, high style usage, analogical formations, and so on. Some of these o-variants are found only with particular linguistic forms.

While a large number of examples were predicted on the basis of a theoretical framework, developed and elaborated in Chapter III, clearly a number of examples were not. Some root morphemes present instances of actual ambiguity, as they seem open to both regular and o-variant prefixal variants. Nevertheless, the theoretical framework of generative grammar applied to Russian prefixes fared reasonably well, permitting a surprising amount of insight into the data, despite a large number of idiosyncracies of one kind or another.

Those prefixal o-variants which occur relatively

frequently in each of the two environments constitute evidence of established distribution within each particular environment. It is encouraging that at least one set of UR's (that is, #su#) has produced results which are generally consistent with the phonological rules throughout these two environments.

In the generative framework, which derives o-variants from the assumed UR's, many constituent forms exhibit varying degrees of idiosyncrasy; nonetheless, the surface structure ambiguity can be accounted for only by positing a common underlying representation.

All the words listed in the Nonphonologically Motivated group (Chapter IV) could also be handled in a different way. They could all be marked with the special feature [-R] and made to undergo the (V-LOWER) rule to lower the final u to o in every prefix.

The representation of the various environment patterns has been in terms of fairly broad structural characteristics and, no doubt, the description of some of the patterns could be refined further. Moreover, it must be remembered that, despite the substantial number of prefixal o-variants presented, this analysis treats just one aspect of the vowel lowering processes coexistent in Russian words.



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## APPENDIX I

### STRESSED PREFIXAL O-VARIANTS

It has already been mentioned that, in the present analysis of prefixal o-variants, stress has no significant application. Nevertheless, since a number of o-variant examples have been found to bear stress in their surface representation, these examples will be listed here. These o-variants are all derived by the regular lowering rule. All the stressed examples belonging to the same root morpheme are listed following the relevant UR of the root.

#### a) Words correlated to the First Environment:

#bir#	: VÓBRANNYJ	(cf. VOBRÁT')
	OBÓBRANNYJ	(cf. OBOBRÁT')
	OTÓBRANNYJ	(cf. OTOBRÁT')
	PODÓBRANNYJ	(cf. PODOBRÁT')
	PODÓBRANNOST'	
	RAZÓBRANNYJ	(cf. RAZOBRÁT')
	RAZÓBRAN	
	SÓBRANNYJ	(cf. SOBRÁT')
	SÓBRANNOST'	
#wir#	: SÓVRANNYJ	(cf. SOVRÁT')

#wis# : VÓVSE

#gun# : VÓGNANNYJ (cf. VOGNÁT')  
 OBÓGNANNYJ (cf. OBOGNÁT')  
 OTÓGNANNYJ (cf. OTOGNÁT')  
 PODÓGNANNYJ (cf. PODOGNÁT')  
 RAZÓGNANNYJ (cf. RAZOGNÁT')  
 SÓGNANNYJ (cf. SOGNÁT')

#gun# : VÓGNUTYJ (cf. VOGNÚT')  
 VÓGNUTOST'  
 IZÓGNUTYJ (cf. IZOGNÚT')  
 IZÓGNUTOST'  
 NADÓGNUTYJ (cf. NADOGNÚT')  
 OBÓGNUTYJ (cf. OBOGNÚT')  
 OTÓGNUTYJ (cf. OTOGNÚT')  
 PODÓGNUTYJ (cf. PODOGNÚT')  
 RAZÓGNUTYJ (cf. RAZOGNÚT')  
 SÓGNUTYJ (cf. SOGNÚT')

#dir# : IZÓDRANNYJ (cf. IZODRÁT')  
 NADÓDRANNYJ (cf. NADODRÁT')  
 OBÓDRANNYJ (cf. OBODRÁT')  
 OTÓDRANNYJ (cf. OTODRÁT')  
 RAZÓDRANNYJ (cf. RAZODRÁT')  
 SÓDRANNYJ (cf. SODRÁT')

#gir#	: SÓŽRANNYJ	(cf. SOŽRÁT')
#zuw#	: OBÓZVANNYJ	(cf. OBOZVÁT')
	OTÓZVANNYJ	(cf. OTOZVÁT')
	PODÓZVANNYJ	(cf. PODOZVÁT')
	SÓZVANNYJ	(cf. SOZVÁT')
#zid#	: SÓZDANNYJ	(cf. SOZDÁT')
#lug#	: SÓLGANNYJ	(cf. SOLGÁT')
#muk#	: OTÓMKNUTYJ	(cf. OTOMKNÚT')
	RAZÓMKNUTYJ	(cf. RAZOMKNÚT')
	SÓMKNUTYJ	(cf. SOMKNÚT')
	SÓMKNUTOST'	
#ruw#	: VZÓRVANNYJ	(cf. VZORVÁT')
	IZÓRVANNYJ	(cf. IZORVÁT')
	NADÓRVANNYJ	(cf. NADORVÁT')
	OBÓRVANNYJ	(cf. OBORVÁT')
	OBÓRVYŠ	
	OTÓRVANNYJ	(cf. OTORVÁT')
	OTÓRVANNOST'	
	PODÓRVANNYJ	(cf. PODORVÁT')
	RAZÓRVANNYJ	(cf. RAZORVÁT')
	SÓRVANNYJ	(cf. SORVÁT')
#sul#	: OTÓSLANNYJ	(cf. OTOSLÁT')

PODÓSLANNYJ (cf. PODOSLÁT')

RAZÓSLANNYJ (cf. RAZOSLÁT')

SÓSLANNYJ (cf. SOSLÁT')

#stil# : PODÓSTLANNYJ (cf. PODOSTLÁT')

RAZÓSTLANNYJ (cf. RAZOSTLÁT')

#tuk : VÓTKANNYJ (cf. VOTKÁT')

IZÓTKANNYJ (cf. IZOTKÁT')

PODÓTKANNYJ (cf. PODOTKÁT')

RAZÓTKANNYJ (cf. RAZOTKÁT')

SÓTKANNYJ (cf. SOTKÁT')

VÓTKNUTYJ (cf. VOTKNÚT')

OTÓTKNUTYJ (cf. OTOTKNÚT')

PODÓTKNUTYJ (cf. PODOTKNÚT')

SÓTKNUTYJ (cf. SOTKNÚT')

#xiw# : PODÓŠVA

PODÓŠVENNYJ

b) Words correlated with the Second Environment:

#znō# : SÓZNANNYJ (cf. SOZNÁT')

#slēp# : SÓSLEPA



c) Words belonging to the Nonphonologically Motivated group:

#werm+en# : VÓVREMJA

#wēd# : SÓVEST'

SÓVESTIT'

SÓVESTLIVOST'

SÓVESTNO

## APPENDIX II

### PHONOLOGICAL RULES

The phonological rules given below generally apply in the order in which they are listed. However, some of the rules may need to be re-ordered to operate effectively with respect to certain derivations.

#### 1) (TT $\longrightarrow$ ST)

$$\{p, t \quad b, d\} \longrightarrow \{s, \quad z\} / \text{---} \{t, d\}$$

Labial and dental obstruents assibilate to dental fricatives before an obstruent.

Example: MESTÍ, SOSKRESTÍ

$$\# \text{ met} + t\bar{i} \# \longrightarrow \# \text{ mes} + t\bar{i} \#$$

$$\# \text{ su} + \text{skreb} + t\bar{i} \# \longrightarrow \# \text{ su} + \text{skrez} + t\bar{i} \#$$

#### 2) (K $\longrightarrow$ Č)

$$\{k, g, x\} \longrightarrow \{\check{c}, \check{z}, \check{s}\} / \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \ddot{v} \\ j \end{array} \right\}$$

Velars k, g, x, before a front vowel or glide j, shift to palatals č, ž, š.

Example: SVOLŮČ'

$$\# \text{ su} + \text{welk} + \ddot{v} \dots \# \longrightarrow \# \text{ su} + \text{welč} + \dots \#$$

3) (T  $\longrightarrow$  Č)

[+R]:  $\{t, d, s, z\} \longrightarrow \{\check{c}, \check{z}, \check{s}, \check{z}\} / \text{--- } j$  a)

[-R]:  $\{t, d\} \longrightarrow \{\check{s}\check{c}, \check{z}d\} / \text{--- } j$  b)

a) Dental obstruents t, d, s, z, in [+R] morphemes, followed by j, shift to č, ž, š, ž.

Example: OTVEČÁT'

# otu + wēt + j + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # otu + wēč + ... #

b) Dental obstruents t, d, in [-R] morphemes, followed by j, shift to šč, žd, respectively.

Example: ÓBŠČÍJ

# obi + t + j + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # obi + šč + ... #

4) (BdC)

$\{k, g, x\} \longrightarrow \{c, z, s\} / \# \text{--- } (w) \ddot{v}$

Velars k, g, x shift to c, z, s before a front vowel, which may be preceded by a w segment.

Example: SOSTJAZÁT'SJA

# su + su + teng +  $\ddot{v}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # su + su + tenz +  $\ddot{v}$  ... #

5) (e1  $\longrightarrow$  o1) [+R]

$\{e\} \longrightarrow \{o\} / \text{--- } L C$

In [+R] morphemes e shifts to o, before a liquid l followed by another consonant.

Example: SVOLOČ'

# su + welč + ... #  $\rightarrow$  # su + wolč + ... #

6) (V-GEMIN)

$$\{e, o\} \rightarrow \{ee, oo\} \quad / \quad \rightarrow \{l, r\} \quad c$$

The short vowels e and o geminate to ee and oo, before liquid l or r followed by a consonant.

Example: SVOLÓČ'

$$\# \text{ su} + \text{wol}\check{\text{c}} + \dots \# \longrightarrow \# \text{ su} + \text{wool}\check{\text{c}} + \dots \#$$
$$7) \quad (VV \rightarrow \bar{V})_{[-R]}$$
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ee \\ oo \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{e} \\ \bar{o} \end{array} \right\}$$

In a sequence of two identical short vowels ee, oo, the first vowel is dropped and the second tensed.

Example: RAZOBRÁT'

$$\# \text{ oorzu} + \text{bir} + \bar{\text{V}} \dots \# \rightarrow \# \bar{\text{o}}\text{rzu} + \text{bir} + \bar{\text{V}} \dots \#$$

8) (METATH)

$$[+R]: \quad \{eeL, ooL\} \longrightarrow \{eLe, oLo\} \quad / \quad \text{---} \quad C \quad a)$$
$$[-R]: \quad \{\bar{e}L, \bar{o}L\} \longrightarrow \{L\bar{e}, L\bar{o}\} \quad / \quad \text{---} \quad C \quad b)$$

a) A sequence of two identical short vowels ee, oo in [+R] morphemes, before a liquid l or r followed by a

consonant, metathesizes.

Example: SVOLÓČ'

# su + woolč + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # su + woloč + ... #

b) In [-R] morphemes,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ , before a liquid  $\underline{l}$  or  $\underline{r}$  followed by a consonant, metathesize into  $\underline{l}\bar{e}$ ,  $\underline{l}\bar{o}$ ,  $\underline{r}\bar{e}$ ,  $\underline{r}\bar{o}$ .

Example: RAZOBRÁT'

#  $\bar{o}$ rzu + bir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  #  $\bar{r}\bar{o}$ z + bir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

#### 9) (DI-TENSING)

$\{i, u, o\} \longrightarrow \{\bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{o}\}$

in inner stems of DI's (derived imperfectives).

Jers  $\underline{i}$ ,  $\underline{u}$ , and short vowel  $\underline{o}$  are tensed in root morphemes of DI's.

Example: VBIRÁT'

# wu + bir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # wu +  $\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{r}$  +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

#### 10) (UNROUND)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{o} \\ \bar{u} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{a} \\ \bar{y} \end{array} \right\}$

Labials  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{u}$  delabialize to  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{y}$ , respectively.

Example: RAZOBRÁT'

#  $\bar{r}\bar{o}$ zu + bir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  #  $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ zu + bir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

11) ( $w \longrightarrow v$ )

$$\{w\} \longrightarrow \{v\}$$

The glide w shifts to v.

Example: VOBRÁT'

#  $wu + bir + \bar{V} \dots \# \longrightarrow \# vu + bir + \bar{V} \dots \#$

12) ( $\bar{y} \longrightarrow \bar{i}$ )

$$\{\bar{y}\} \longrightarrow \{\bar{i}\} / \{k, g, x\} \text{ —}$$

Any  $\bar{y}$ , after velars k, g, x, is shifted to  $\bar{i}$ .

Example: IZGIBÁT'

#  $\bar{i}zu + g\bar{y}b + \dots \# \longrightarrow \# \bar{i}zu + g\bar{i}b + \dots \#$

13) ( $c \longrightarrow c'$ )

$$c \longrightarrow c' / \text{ — } \ddot{v}$$

Any consonant before a front vowel is palatalized.

Example: VBIRÁT'

#  $vu + b\bar{i}r + \ddot{V} \dots \# \longrightarrow \# vu + b'\bar{i}r + \ddot{V} \dots \#$

14) (MONOPH)

$$v_1 v_2 \longrightarrow \emptyset \bar{v}_2$$

A sequence of two short vowels eu and ou is monophthongized by dropping the first vowel and tensing the second.

## 15) (V-NASAL)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \ddot{v} \\ v \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{a} \\ \bar{u} \end{array} \right\} / \text{---} N$$

A front vowel before a nasal shifts to  $\bar{a}$ , and any other vowel shifts to  $\bar{u}$ .

Examples: SOSTJAZÁT'SJA, SOZVUČÁT'

# su + su + teng +  $\bar{v}$  ... #  $\rightarrow$  # su + su + t'az + ... #

# su + zvon + č' + ... #  $\rightarrow$  # su + zv $\bar{u}$  + č' + ... #

16) (G,N  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$ )

$$\{G, N\} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} C$$

A glide or a nasal drops before another consonant.

Example: SŽÁT'

# su + ž'am + t'ī #  $\rightarrow$  # su + ž'a + t'ī #

17) (j  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$ )

$$\{j\} \rightarrow \emptyset / C \text{---}$$

A glide following a consonant is dropped.

Example: ÓBŠČIJ

# obi + š'č' + j +  $\bar{v}$  ... #  $\rightarrow$  # obi + š'č' + ... #

18) (C  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$ )

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ -\text{cont} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} \left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ +\text{dental} \\ -\text{cont} \end{array} \right]$$

A dental drops before another dental.

Example: VOJTÍ

# vu + jid + t'ĩ # → # vu + ji + t'ĩ #

19) (C# → ∅#)

{c} → ∅ / \_\_\_\_ #

Any consonant drops in a word-final position before a word boundary.

Example: VÓVREMJA

# vo + vr'ēm' + ān # → # vo + vr'ēm' + ā #

20) (V-LOWER)

$\{i, u\} \rightarrow \{e, o\} / \begin{array}{l} \text{____} + c_1 \{i, u\} \quad \text{a)} \\ c^i \text{____} + (CV)_{\text{prefix}} + (C)c^i(C) \quad \text{b)} \end{array}$

Jers i and u are lowered to e and o if:

a) the following syllable of the root morpheme (or another intervening prefixal morpheme) contains a jer;

b) the following root morpheme (or intervening prefixal morpheme with a jer) begins with a cluster of two or more consonants, and if the initial consonant of the cluster is identical with the initial prefixal consonant; condition for b): one of the optional root segments (including intervening prefixal morpheme where applicable) must be present (cf. p. 118).



Examples: VOBRÁT', SOSKOČÍT'

# vu + b'ir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # vo + b'ir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

# su + skoč' +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # so + skoč' +  $\ddot{V}$  ... #

21) (V-DROP)

$\{i, u\} \longrightarrow \emptyset$

Remaining jers are dropped.

Example: VOBRÁT'

# vo + b'ir +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # vo + b'r +  $\bar{V}$  ... #

22) ( $\check{s}' \longrightarrow \check{s}$ )

$\{\check{s}', \check{z}'\} \longrightarrow \{\check{s}, \check{z}\}$

Soft continuants  $\check{s}'$  and  $\check{z}'$  change to hard  $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{z}$ .

Example: SOKRUŠÍT'

# so + krūš' + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # so + krūš + ... #

23) ( $C'C \longrightarrow CC$ )

$$\begin{bmatrix} C \\ -\text{lateral} \end{bmatrix} C \longrightarrow CC / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule hardens previously palatalized consonants.

Example: VOBRÁT'

# vo + b'r +  $\bar{V}$  ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # vo + br + ... #

24) ( $CC' \longrightarrow C'C'$ )

$CC' \longrightarrow C'C' / \text{---} C'$

A consonant before a soft consonant is palatalized.

There are certain limitations to this rule, depending on the kind of consonant that softens; e.g., a velar will not soften before any consonant, and labials soften only before labials.

Example: RAZBIRÁT'

# raz + b'ír + ... #  $\longrightarrow$  # raz' + b'ír + ... #

#### SUMMARY OF RULES

- |                                   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) (TT $\longrightarrow$ ST)      | 13) (C $\longrightarrow$ C')     |
| 2) (K $\longrightarrow$ Č)        | 14) (MONOPH)                     |
| 3) (T $\longrightarrow$ Č)        | 15) (V-NASAL)                    |
| 4) (BdC)                          | 16) (G,N $\longrightarrow$ Ø)    |
| 5) (el $\longrightarrow$ ol) [+R] | 17) (j $\longrightarrow$ Ø)      |
| 6) (V-GEMIN)                      | 18) (C $\longrightarrow$ Ø)      |
| 7) (VV $\longrightarrow$ V̄) [-R] | 19) (C# $\longrightarrow$ Ø#)    |
| 8) (METATH)                       | 20) (V-LOWER)                    |
| 9) (DI-TENSING)                   | 21) (V-DROP)                     |
| 10) (UNROUND)                     | 22) (š' $\longrightarrow$ š)     |
| 11) (w $\longrightarrow$ v)       | 23) (C'C $\longrightarrow$ CC)   |
| 12) (ȳ $\longrightarrow$ ĭ)       | 24) (CC' $\longrightarrow$ C'C') |